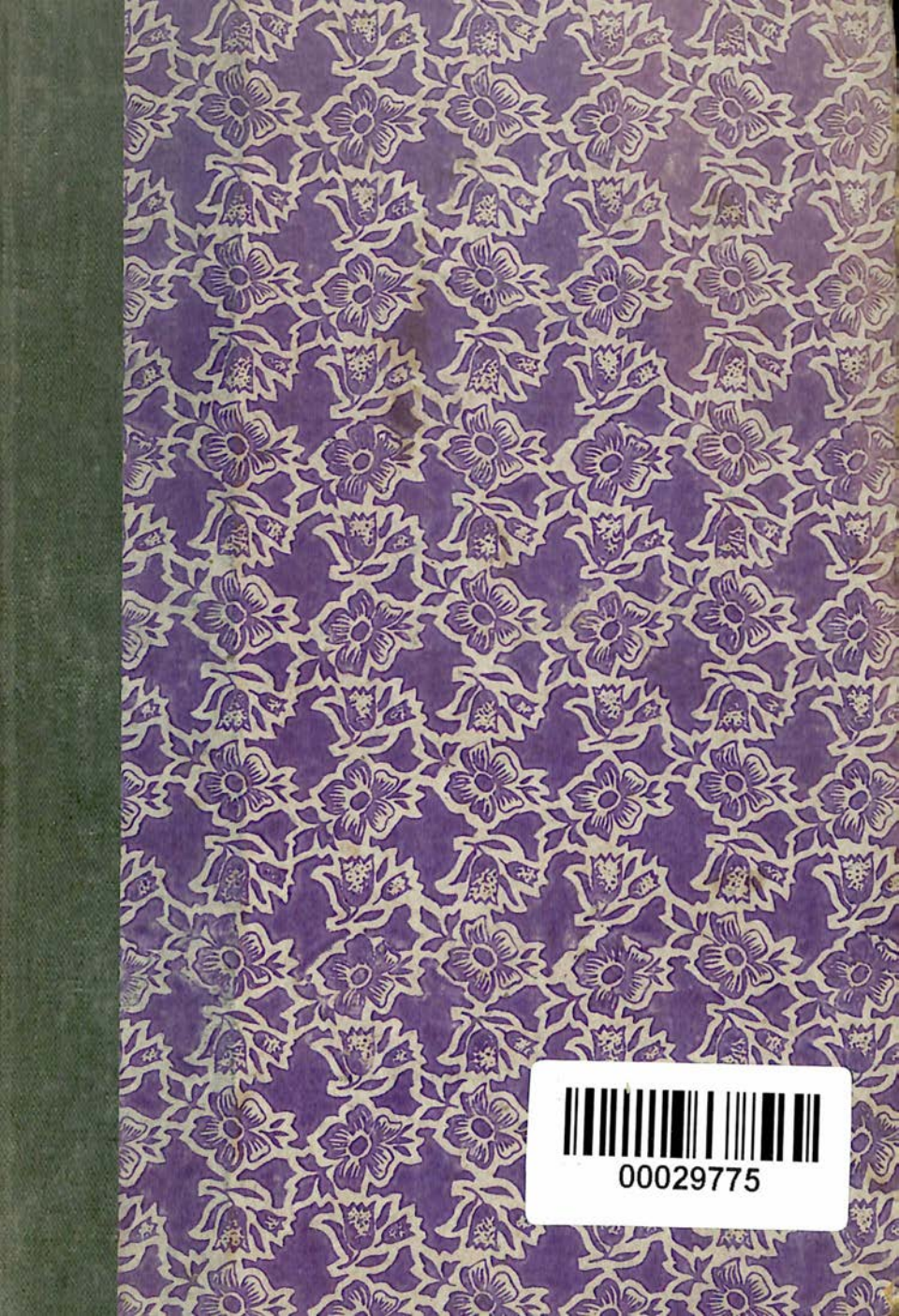
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THE SPANISH CONQUEST

IN AMERICA

AND ITS RELATION TO THE HISTORY OF SLAVERY AND TO THE GOVERNMENT OF COLONIES

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ARTHUR HELPS

THE THIRD VOLUME

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TO

THE THIRD VOLUME.

IN issuing this third volume, I take the opportunity of making a statement, which perhaps it would have been well to have made before.

The reader will observe that there is scarcely any allusion in this work to the kindred works of modern writers on the same subject. This is not from any want of respect for the able historians who have written upon the discovery, or the conquest, of America. I felt, however, from the first, that my object in investigating this portion of history was different from theirs; and I wished to keep my mind clear from the influence which these eminent persons might have exercised upon it.

Moreover, while admitting fully the advantage to be derived from the study of these modern

writers, I thought that it was better, upon the whole, to have a work composed from independent sources, which would convey the impression that the original documents had made upon another mind.

Here and there I have accidentally become acquainted with what some modern writer has said upon a particular point; and I have endeavoured to confirm or refute his views. But, with the exception of the historical fragment of Muñoz and the biographies of Quintana, I have not read thirty pages of all that has been written by modern writers on the Spanish Conquest.

It is seldom worth while, I think, to explain how any book has been written, except in such a case as the present, when the explanation may altogether remove any appearance even of discourtesy to persons who should receive nothing but gratitude and honour from a fellow-labourer.

LONDON, *February*, 1857.

CONTENTS OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

BOOK XII.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF CORTES.

PAGE

CHAPTER I.—State of Mexico after the Conquest—Thanksgiving for the Victory—Mexico rebuilt and repeopled—Christoval de Tapia sent to supersede Cortes—Revolt of Panuco—Cortes inhabits Mexico—Memorial of Conquistadores to the Emperor—Arrival of Franciscans . . 3

CHAPTER II.—Christoval de Olid sent by Cortes to Honduras—His rebellion—Cortes goes to Honduras to chastise Christoval de Olid—Dissensions in Mexico during his absence—Execution of the Kings of Mexico and Tlacuba—Return of Cortes to Mexico—Ponce de Leon comes to take a residencia of Cortes 30

BOOK XIII.

NICARAGUA.

CHAPTER I.—Gil Gonçalez Davila discovers Nicaragua—Francisco Hernandez sent by Pedrarias to settle there—He founds Leon and Granada—Drives out Gil Gonçalez—Hernandez beheaded by Pedrarias—Death of Pedrarias 67

BOOK XIV.

ENCOMIENDAS.

PAGE

CHAPTER I.—The rebellion of Enrique—The variety of forms of Indian subjection—Indians of war—Indians of ransom—Indians of commerce—The branding of slaves—Personal services—General questions arising from the encomienda system 99

CHAPTER II.—Nature of encomiendas re-stated—History of encomiendas resumed from the Conquest of Mexico—Original plan of Cortes—Junta in 1523 forbids encomiendas—Meanwhile Cortes had granted encomiendas—Ponce de Leon comes to Mexico as judge of residencia—His instructions about encomiendas—The question not determined, on account of the unsettled state of the Government of Mexico 133

CHAPTER III.—Meaning of the word residencia—Origin of the practice of taking residencias in Castille and Aragon—The good and evil of residencias 148

CHAPTER IV.—The residencia of Cortes—Death of Ponce de Leon—Confused state of the Government of Mexico—Ponce de Leon's instructions about encomiendas come to naught—Encomiendas allowed by the Spanish Court—An audiencia created for Mexico—Instructions to this Audiencia do not vary the nature of encomiendas in New Spain 159

CHAPTER V.—Arrival of the Audiencia—Great disputes between the Protectors of the Indians and the Audiencia—The Auditors prosecute the Bishop of Mexico—The Bishop excommunicates the Auditors—A great Junta in Spain on the subject of the Indies 178

CHAPTER VI.—The second Audiencia arrives in Mexico—Proceedings of the Auditors—Great error in their instructions about encomiendas—Severity towards the colonists—The number of orphans in New Spain 194

CHAPTER VII.—The importation of Negroes—Monopolies of licences—Depopulation of the West India Islands . 210

PAGE

CHAPTER VIII.—General administration of the Bishop-President in New Spain—The new Audiencia did not abolish encomiendas—Why they failed to do so—Proceedings in Spain with respect to encomiendas—The celebrated Law of Succession passed in 1536 218

BOOK XV.

GUATEMALA.

CHAPTER I.—Importance of the history of Guatemala—Embassies to Cortes after the siege of Mexico—His discovery of the Sea of the South—Origin of the kingdom of Guatemala—Laws and customs of that country—Expedition against Guatemala prepared . . . 235

CHAPTER II.—Conquest of Guatemala by Pedro de Alvarado—Founding of the town of Guatemala 261

CHAPTER III.—Establishment of the Dominican and Franciscan Orders in New Spain—Life of Domingo de Betanzos—Letters of the first bishops 275

CHAPTER IV.—Establishment of the town of Santiago in Guatemala—Domingo de Betanzos comes to Santiago, and founds a Dominican convent there—Is obliged to return to Mexico 307

CHAPTER V.—Reappearance of Las Casas—His mission to Peru—His stay in Nicaragua—Disputes with the Governor—Comes to Guatemala, and occupies the convent that had been founded by Domingo de Betanzos—Alvarado's expedition to Peru—Las Casas and his brethren study the Utlatecan language 318

CHAPTER VI.—Las Casas and his monks offer to conquer the "Land of War"—They make their preparations for the enterprize 333

CHAPTER VII.—Las Casas succeeds in converting by peaceable means the "Land of War"—He is sent to Spain and detained there 344

PAGE

CHAPTER VIII.—Discovery to the north of Mexico—Death of Alvarado—Earthquake at Guatemala—Guatemala governed by an Audiencia 371

CHAPTER IX.—Triumph of the Dominicans in Guatemala—"The Land of War" is called "the Land of Peace"—The final labours and death of Domingo de Betanzos . 392

BOOK XVI.

THE CONQUEST OF PERU.

CHAPTER I.—The early life and voyages of Pizarro . . 419

CHAPTER II.—Pizarro goes to the Spanish Court—Returns to Panamá—Starts for the conquest of Peru—Founds the town of San Miguel 455

CHAPTER III.—The history, laws, religion, and customs of Peru previous to the Conquest, and the state of the royal family 468

CHAPTER IV.—Pizarro marches from San Miguel to Cassamarca—Projected interview between Pizarro and Atahuallpa—Rout of the Peruvians and capture of the Inca 513

CHAPTER V.—Agreement for Atahuallpa's ransom—Fernando Pizarro's journey to the Temple of Pachacamác—Messengers sent to Cusco—Arrival of Almagro at the camp of Cassamarca 549

CHAPTER VI.—Guascar Inca's fate—Atahuallpa's trial—Atahuallpa's execution 566

BOOK XII.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF CORTES.

CHAPTER I.

STATE OF MEXICO AFTER THE CONQUEST—THANKSGIVING FOR THE VICTORY—MEXICO REBUILT AND REPEOPLED—CHRISTOVAL DE TAPIA SENT TO SUPERSEDE CORTES—REVOLT OF PANUCO—CORTES INHABITS MEXICO—MEMORIAL OF CONQUISTADORES TO THE EMPEROR—ARRIVAL OF FRANCISCANS.

CHAPTER II.

CHRISTOVAL DE OLID SENT BY CORTES TO HONDURAS—HIS REBELLION—CORTES GOES TO HONDURAS TO CHASTISE CHRISTOVAL DE OLID—DISSENSIONS IN MEXICO DURING HIS ABSENCE — EXECUTION OF THE KINGS OF MEXICO AND TLACUBA — RETURN OF CORTES TO MEXICO—PONCE DE LEON COMES TO TAKE A RESIDENCIA OF CORTES.

CHAPTER I.

STATE OF MEXICO AFTER THE CONQUEST—THANKSGIVING FOR THE VICTORY—MEXICO REBUILT AND REPEOPLED—CHRISTOVAL DE TAPIA SENT TO SUPERSEDE CORTES—REVOLT OF PANUCO—CORTÉS INHABITS MEXICO—MEMORIAL OF CONQUISTADORES TO THE EMPEROR—ARRIVAL OF FRANCISCANS.

Mexico not habitable.

NOTHING can well convey a surer intimation of the sad state of Mexico, on the day of its conquest, than the fact that both the victors and the vanquished began to leave the city. Cortes and his soldiers returned to their camp, while, for three days and nights, the causeways were crowded by the departing Mexicans—yellow, flaccid, filthy, miserable beings, "whom it was grief to behold."* When the city was deserted, Cortes sent persons in to view it. They found the houses full of dead bodies. The few wretched creatures who still here and there appeared, were those who, from extreme poverty, sickness, or indifference to life, were unwilling or unable to crawl out. In a great town there are

* "Digo que en tres dias con sus noches iban todas tres calçadas llenas de Indios é Indias, y muchachos llenos de bote en bote, que nunca dexavan de salir, y tan flacos, y suzios, é amarillos, é hediondos, que era lástima de lòs ver."—BERNAL DIAZ, cap. 156.

B. XII. Ch. I.

always some abject persons to whom long despair and utter hardness of life make any lair seem welcome. The surface of the ground had been ploughed up, in order to get at the roots of the herbage. The bark of the trees had been eaten off; and not a drop of fresh water was to be found.

State of the city. Aug. 1521.

Mexico was taken on the 13th of August, 1521. For three days afterwards Cortes remained in his camp, and he then proceeded to the neighbouring city of Cuyoacan. His first care for the city of Mexico was to give orders that the aqueduct should be repaired. His first act on behalf of his own troops was to offer a thanksgiving for the victory. After the thanksgiving, Cortes held a great banquet in Cuyoacan. At this feast, which was followed by a dance, the soldiers, naturally excited by their long abstinence from anything like amusement, indulged in such freaks and excesses that Father Olmedo was greatly scandalized. Cortes being informed of this by Sandoval, suggested to the good monk that he should appoint a solemn procession, after which mass should be celebrated, and the Father might give the army a sermon, telling them "that they should not despoil the Indians of their goods or their daughters, nor quarrel amongst themselves, but conduct themselves like Catholic Christians, that so God might continue to favour them." This was accordingly done with all fitting solemnity.

The aqueduct to be repaired.

Thanksgiving for the victory.

A procession and a sermon.

The next thing was to dismiss the Indian allies, who were favoured with many gracious

The allies are dismissed.

words and promises; and were enriched with cotton, gold, and various spoil—amongst which were portions of the bodies of their enemies salted.* They then departed joyfully to their own country.

The Mexicans allowed to return to their city.

The allies being dismissed, the Mexicans were ordered to make clean the streets of Mexico, and to return to the city in two months' time. A quarter of the town was appointed for their particular habitation, divided from that of the Spaniards by one of the great water-streets.

Smallness of the booty.

The next question concerned the spoil of Mexico. The conquerors were entirely disappointed by the smallness of the booty. Murmurs arose amongst the soldiery, and the meaner spirits began to suspect that their General concealed the spoil for his own benefit. Cortes, with a weakness that was unusual in him, consented, at the instance of the King's Treasurer, that Quauhtemotzin and his cousin, the King of Tlacuba, should be submitted to the torture, in order that they might be induced to discover where they had hid their treasures. During the cruel process, the King of Tlacuba, suffering agonies from the torture, looked beseechingly to his lord paramount to give him licence to tell what he knew, whereupon the gallant young King, himself in torment, treated his fellow sufferer with contempt, uttering these remarkable words,

The Kings of Mexico and Tlacuba exposed to the torture.

* "Y aun llevaron hartas cargas de tasajos cecinados de Indios Mexicanos, que repartieron entre sus parientes y amigos, y como cosas de sus enemigos la comieron por fiestas."—BERNAL DIAZ, cap. 156.

B. XII. Ch. I.

—"Am I in any delight, or bath?" (*Estoi yo en algun deleite, ó baño?*) It appears, however, that one or the other of the Kings confessed, that ten days before the capture of the city, the King of Mexico had ordered the pieces of artillery which he had taken from the Spaniards to be thrown into the lake, together with whatever gold, silver, precious stones, and jewels remained to him. It is remarkable that Cortes makes no mention of this torture of the captive Kings in his letter to the Emperor. Afterwards, when the transaction was made a matter of formal accusation against him, he defended himself by declaring that "he had done it at the request of Julian de Alderete, the King's Treasurer, and in order that the truth might appear, for all men said that he (Cortes) possessed the whole of the riches of Montezuma, and that he did not like to have Quauhtemotzin tortured, for fear the fact should come out against himself of having kept back the spoil."*

The excuse of Cortes.

It may not be out of place to remind the reader what kind of man Cortes was at the time of the conquest of Mexico. One who knew him well, and whose descriptions of men are often as minute as if he was noting animals for sale, thus depicts Cortes. "He was of good make and

Personal appearance of Cortes.

* "Mas él se defendia con que se hiço á pedimento de Julian de Alderete, Tesorero del Rei, í porque pareciese la verdad; cá decian todos que tenia él toda la riqueza de Motecçuma, í no queria atormentalle porque no se supiese."—Gomara, *Crónica de la Nueva-España*, cap. 145. Barcia, *Historiadores*, tom. 2.

stature; well-proportioned and stalwart. The colour of his face inclined to pallor,* and his countenance was not very joyful. If his face had been longer, it would have been handsomer. His eyes, when he looked at you, had an amiable expression, otherwise, a haughty one. His beard was dark and thin, and so was his hair. His chest was deep, and his shoulders finely formed. He was slender, with very little stomach; somewhat bow-legged, with well-turned thighs and ankles. He was a good horseman, and dexterous in the use of all arms, as well on foot as on horseback; and, above all, he had heart and soul, which are what is most to the purpose."†

Patience of Cortes.

The same author dwells on the wonderful patience of Cortes. When very angry, there was a vein which swelled in his forehead, and another in his throat; but, however enraged, his words were always mild and decorous. He might indulge with his friends in such an expression as "Plague upon you" (*mal pese á vos*); but to the common soldiers, even when they said the rudest things to him, he merely replied, "Be silent, or go in God's name, and from henceforward have

* *Lit.* "ash-coloured," — the *cinereus color* of the Romans.

† "Fue de buena estatura y cuerpo, y bien proporcionado, y membrudo, y la color de la cara tirava algo a cenicienta, é no mui alegre: y si tuviera el rostro mas largo, mejor le pareciera; los ojos en el mirar amorosos, y por otra graves: las barbas tenia algo prietas, y pocas y ralas, y el cabello que en aquel tiempo se usava, era de la misma manera que las barbas, y tenia el pecho alto, y la espalda de buena manera, y era cenceño, y de poca barriga, y algo estevado, y las piernas y muslos bien sacados, y era buen ginete, y diestro de todas armas, ansí á pié, como á cavallo, y sabia mui bien menearlas, y sobre todo coraçon, y ánimo, que es lo que haze al caso."—Bernal Diaz, cap. 203.

B. XII. Ch. 1.

more care in what you say, or it will cost you dear, and I shall have to chastise you."

It appears that, in extreme cases of anger, he had a curious habit of throwing off his cloak; but even then he always kept himself from coarse and violent language*—a wise practice—for a furious gesture is readily forgiven (it is a mere sign of the passion of the speaker); not so a single hasty word, which may kindle all the fires of vanity in the person spoken to.

In his mode of argument the same composure was visible, and he was a master in the arts of persuasive rhetoric.

His mode of dress.

He was remarkably clean and neat in his person,† not delighting much in fine silks or velvets, or gorgeous ornaments. One chain only, of exquisite workmanship, he wore, with an image of the Virgin depending from it, and one diamond ring.

He was very fond of games of chance, but good or ill-fortune in them never disturbed his equanimity, though it gave him opportunity for witty sayings.‡

---

* "Y aun algunas vezes de mui enojado, arrojava una manta, y no dezia palabra fea, ni injuriosa á ningun Capitan, ni soldado."—Bernal Diaz, cap. 203.

† "Era Hombre limpísimo."—Gomara, *Crónica de la Nueva-España*, cap. 238. Barcia, *Historiadores*, tom. 2.

‡ "Era mui aficionado á juegos de naipes é dados y quando jugava era mui afable en el juego, y dezia ciertos remoquetes, que suelen dezir los que juegan á los dados."—Bernal Diaz, cap. 203.

It is curious to note the same trait, of a fondness for games of chance, in Augustus Cæsar.—"It was considered a defiance of public opinion in Augustus to avow almost without scruple that he was accustomed to amuse himself in his family, or among his nearest associates, with games of chance for the most trifling ventures. He played, says Suetonius, openly and without disguise,

He was very firm in his resolves. To those who have read the history of Mexico up to this time, it is scarcely necessary to mention this fact. But as no human virtue is without its corresponding drawback, it appears probable, from some words his chaplain lets fall, that Cortes occasionally carried his military resolve into civil life, and stood more upon his rights in legal matters than was always wise or prudent. He was not what may be called a profuse man, and was occasionally even parsimonious, though immensely liberal as a lover or a friend, or when he thought to carry a purpose in war, or when he wished to gratify any particular fancy.*

His pertinacity.

His present grandeur of estate sat upon him with the easiness of a well-fitting robe that had long been worn, and he presented in no way

His dignified demeanour.

even in his old age; nor did he confine himself to the genial month of December, but amused himself in this way any day of the year, whether of business or holiday. Familiar letters have been preserved in which he recounts to Tiberius his bloodless contests at the supper table with Vinicius and Silius; how they had played, for pastime, not for gain, sporting a single denarius upon each die, and sweeping the modest stakes with the lucky throw of the Venus. 'We played every day through the five-day feast of Minerva, and kept the table warm. Your brother was most vociferous. Yet he lost but little after all. . . . . I lost for my part twenty pieces: but then I was generous, as usual, for had I insisted on all my winnings, or retained all I gave away, I should have gained fifty. But I like to be liberal, and I expect immortal honour for it.' To Julia he wrote: 'I make you a present of 250 denarii, the sum I gave to each of my guests to play at dice with at supper, or, if they pleased, at odd and even.'" —MERIVALE'S *History of the Romans under the Empire*, vol. 4, chap. 37, p. 294.

* "Gastaba liberalísimamente en la Guerra, en Mugeres, por Amigos, í en antojos, mostrando escaseça en algunas cosas, por donde le llaman Rio de Avenida." —GOMARA, *Crónica de la Nueva-España*, cap. 238. BARCIA, *Historiadores*, tom. 2.

B. XII. Ch. I.

tho appearance of a new-made man. He seemed rather to have come to some high fortune which had been awaiting him from his birth. Any one, however, who has seen the singular dignity and grace of bearing which a Spanish peasant of the present day will manifest, even under difficult circumstances, can easily imagine that a descendant of a good family, with Pizarros and Altamiranos for immediate ancestors, would be very little disconcerted at being suddenly called to sit in the seat of judgment, to dispense rewards amongst obedient followers, and to sway an obsequious people, accustomed to be ruled by monarchs of a like imperious dignity and composure.*

Cortes as a man of business.

It is probable that Cortes, partially at least, fulfilled the requisites of that character, one of the rarest to be met with, and very much wanted at that time in the Indies—an admirable man of business. Rare, almost, as great poets,—rarer, perhaps, than veritable saints and martyrs,—are consummate men of business. A man, to be excellent in this way, must not only be variously gifted, but his gifts should be nicely proportioned to one another. He must have in a high degree that virtue which men have always found the least pleasant of virtues,—prudence. His prudence, however, will not be merely of a cautious and quiescent order, but that which, being ever actively engaged, is more fitly called discretion than pru-

* For the descent of Cortes from illustrious ancestors, see Pizarro y Orellana, *Varones Ilustres de Nuevo Mundo; Cortes*, cap. 1. Fr^co. Diego de Sayas, *Anales de Aragon*, cap. 1; and *Doc. Ined.*, tom. 4, p. 238.

dence. Such a man must have an almost ignominious love of details, blended (and this is a rare combination) with a high power of imagination, enabling him to look along extended lines of possible action, and put these details in their right places. He requires a great knowledge of character, with that exquisite tact which feels unerringly the right moment when to act. A discreet rapidity must pervade all the movements of his thought and action. He must be singularly free from vanity, and is generally found to be an enthusiast, who has the art to conceal his enthusiasm.

Comparison of Cortes with other great men.

Cardinal Ximenes, King Ferdinand, Vasco Nuñez, and Cortes are the four men who, in the history of the Indies, have been seen to manifest the greatest powers of business. Las Casas, also, was a very able man, possessing many of the highest faculties for the conduct of affairs. But Cortes probably outshone the rest; and had the Indies been his appanage, instead of a country unrighteously conquered by him, the administration of the Conquest would have been brought to the highest perfection that it could have reached at that period.

Amidst the infinite variety of human beings, not merely can no one man be found exactly like another, but no character can be superimposed upon another without large differences being at once discernible. Still there is often a vein of similarity amongst remarkable men which enables us to classify them as belonging to the same order. Cortes, for instance, was of the same order as Charles the Fifth and Augustus Cæsar. Each

B. XII. Ch. I.

of them had supreme self-possession: the bitterest misfortune never left them abject; the highest success found them composed to receive it. Each of them, though grave and dignified, was remarkable for affability with all kinds of men. All three were eminently tenacious of their resolves, but, at the same time, singularly amenable to reason—which is, perhaps, the first quality in a ruler. Charles the Fifth was much the least cruel; but the cruelty of the others was never wanton, never capricious, never divorced from policy. They had all three long memories, both of benefits and injuries. They were firm friends, and good masters to their subordinates, but could not be accused of favouritism. Cortes had, perhaps, more poetry in him than was to be found in either of the others. He had the warlike element which is discernible in Charles the Fifth, but was certainly a greater commander, and possessed more readiness and flexibility. Finally, Augustus Cæsar, Cortes, and Charles the Fifth were of that rare order of men in whom there is perpetual growth of character,—who go on learning,—to whom every blunder they commit is a fruitful lesson,—with whom there is less that is accidental than is to be observed in the rest of mankind,—and of whom humanity, with much to regret, cannot fail to be proud.

Cortes resembled Augustus Cæsar and Charles the Fifth.

The characters of great men may be more amply summed up, and more justly appreciated, at the close of their careers; but it seems well, occasionally, to look at them with all the light we can get, in the midst of their labours, and to

endeavour to see them in the guise in which they stood when they were face to face with other great men, and immersed in the contests of life.

Such as he has been described above was Cortes at the vigorous age of thirty-five, in the height of his unrivalled career, after one of the most memorable conquests made known to us in history.

Dealings of Cortes with other States in New Spain.

This is not the place for mentioning at any length the discoveries and conquests of which Cortes now laid the foundation. As was to be expected, ambassadors arrived at the Spanish Camp from neighbouring territories; and Cortes was enabled to give them a most significant illustration of his prowess, by taking them to behold the ruins of Mexico.* Their mode of describing events was pictorial; and here was a scene which, if well portrayed, needed little comment by words or hieroglyphics.

Occupation of Mexico by the Spaniards.

Cortes now prepared for the occupation of the site of Mexico by his own men, giving the usual quantities of land (*solares*) to those who wished to become residents. He then appointed the principal officers, the *Alcaldes* and *Regidores*. The building of the town was carried on with such rapidity, that in five months after its commencement, the new Mexico already gave promise of becoming, as the old had been, the principal and

* "Hícelos llevar á ver la destruccion y asolamiento de la Ciudad de Temixtitan, que de la ver, y de ver su fuerza, y fortaleza, por estar en el Agua, quedaron muy mas espantados."—Lorenzana, p. 308.

B. XII. Ch. I.

ruling city of those provinces.* It is a remarkable fact that the Tezcucans were largely employed† in this rebuilding, thus fulfilling, at least partially, a prophecy made by the Mexicans in the height of the war.‡ The labour was great, food was very scarce, and numbers of the workmen died from the effects of famine. It is worthy of note that they brought the materials for building on their shoulders, or dragged them along by sheer force,§ and their only comfort during these great exertions seems to have been in working to the sound of music.‖

Tezcucans employed.

Cortes did not accomplish all these great works without the envy that belongs to such men and such deeds. The white walls of the palaces of Cuyoacan were blackened each morning by malicious pasquinades in poetry and prose. Some said that the sun, and the moon, and the stars, and the sea, had their courses, and if sometimes

Pasquinades against Cortes.

---

* "Crea Vuestra Magestad, que cada dia se irá ennobleciendo en tal manera, que como antes fue Principal, y Señora de todas estas Provincias, que lo será tambien de aquí adelante."—LORENZANA, p. 307.

† "Hiço Señor del Cuzco (Tezcuco) á Don Carlos Iztlixuchitl, con voluntad, í pedimento de la Ciudad, por muerte de Don Hernando su Hermano, í mandóle traer en la obra los mas de sus Vasallos, por ser Carpinteros, Canteros, í Obreros de Casas."—GOMARA, *Crónica de la Nueva-España*, cap. 162. BARCIA, *Historiadores*, tom. 2.

‡ See *ante*, vol. 2, book 11, p. 516.

§ The great architectural works of nations in the olden time indicate an utter prodigality of human life, and declare the largeness of the despotic power under which men worked.

‖ "El trabajo fué grande; cá traian acuestas, ó arrastrando, la Piedra, la Tierra, la Madera, Cal, Ladrillos, í todos los otros materiales. Pero era mucho de ver los Cantares, í Musica que tenian. El apellidar su Pueblo, í Señor, í el motejarse unos á otros."—GOMARA, *Crónica de la Nueva-España*, cap. 162. BARCIA, *Historiadores*, tom. 2.

they went out of these courses, they nevertheless returned to their original state, and that so it would have to be with the ambition of Cortes. Others said that the soldiers should not call themselves the *Conquistadores* of New Spain, but the conquered of Cortes (*conquistados de Hernando Cortés*). Others wrote—

"Alas! how sad a soul I bear,
Until I see what is my share."*

Cortes, who could use his pen as well as his sword, was not backward in replying to his maligners; and he wittily wrote up "A white wall, the paper of fools" (*Pared blanca, papel de necios*). Finally, however, the practice of scribbling these things on the walls rose to such a height, that Cortes was obliged to exercise his authority in forbidding it altogether.

Another disagreeable episode in the affairs of Cortes was the arrival of an obscure man, named Christoval de Tapia, as Governor of New Spain. This appointment was the work of the Bishop of Burgos, who, whether he thwarted Las Casas, or, with much less injustice, condemned the proceedings of Cortes, was always in the wrong. Cortes himself made some show of obeying Tapia, but the friends of Cortes would not listen to this man's taking upon him so important a charge, and he was obliged to quit New Spain. This transaction is worth mentioning only as showing amidst what interruptions and vexations Cortes worked

Arrival of Tapia to supersede Cortes. 1522.

* "O que triste está el alma mia,
Hasta que la parte vea."
BERNAL DIAZ, cap. 157.

B. XII. Ch. I.

out his great achievements. It was not until three years and four months after Cortes had been elected Captain-General by his followers, in the council held at Vera Cruz,* that he was appointed by the Court of Spain Governor and Captain-General, in a despatch dated at Valladolid the 15th of October, 1522.

Cortes appointed Governor and Captain-General, Oct. 15, 1522.

A further trouble to the administration of Cortes, which also is worth mentioning only as showing the nature of the difficulties he had to contend with, was the revolt of Panuco, a province to the north-east of Mexico. Cortes went to Panuco himself, and succeeded, after several encounters with the Indians, in subduing them and pacificating the province.

Revolt of Panuco. 1522.

Soon after his return from this expedition Cortes despatched messengers to Spain to urge his own claims and those of the *Conquistadores;* who also on their own account sent a memorial to the Emperor.

These messengers did not go empty-handed. They were commissioned to take the Emperor eighty-eight thousand *pesos*, in gold bars, and the wardrobe of the late monarch of Mexico, Montezuma, which was rich with jewels, amongst them some pearls the size of hazel-nuts. These treasures never reached the Court of Spain, for they were captured by a French corsair, named Jean Florin. They probably, however, did as much good to the Emperor as if they had been spent upon his armies, for they served to give

Messengers sent by Cortes and his men to the Emperor, Dec. 20, 1522.

* See vol. 2, book 10, p. 279.

the King of France some intimation of the wealth which the King of Spain was likely to draw from the Indies. The despatches had been intrusted to a man of the name of Alonso de Avila, who, though taken prisoner, contrived to have these valuable documents conveyed to some friends of Cortes in Spain, whence they were forwarded to his Majesty the Emperor, in Flanders. The exact time of Alonso de Avila's departure from Vera Cruz was the 20th of December, 1522.

Memorial of the *Conquistadores.*

The petition from the *Conquistadores* gave an account of the siege, besought his Majesty to send to New Spain a bishop, and monks of all the religious Orders, explained their own conduct in not receiving Tapia, prayed that the government of New Spain might be conferred upon Cortes (the news of his appointment as Governor had not yet reached them), and asked, on their own account, that all the royal offices in the new colony might be given to them.

The above, however, are not the points in the memorial which are most curious, and which most require to be dwelt upon.

One thing upon which the Spanish colonists agreed.

The world is so torn by differences of opinion, that it is always very interesting, and somewhat delightful, to find any one subject upon which there is singular unanimity. Now there was something wherein the Spanish conquerors and colonists universally agreed. Biscayan, Estremaduran, Andalucian, Castillian—men who had various points of difference, and numberless provincial jealousies,—concurred in one request. As soon as any colony was in the least degree esta-

B. XII. Ch. I.

blished in the New World, the colonists, almost in their first communication with their sovereign, were sure to entreat him to prohibit lawyers from coming out to them. The following brief notices will serve to indicate this remarkable unanimity.

Cuba.

In 1516 the commissioners from Cuba to the Court succeeded in obtaining an order that lawyers should not be allowed to go there, because, since some had gone thither, lawsuits had arisen amongst the inhabitants.*

The Terra-firma.

The words of VASCO NUÑEZ from the Terra-firma, in 1513, are so remarkable, that they must be repeated here. "One thing I supplicate your Highness, for it is much to your service, and that is, that you would give orders, under a great penalty, that no bachelor of law, or of anything else, except medicine, should be allowed to come to these parts of the Terra-firma, for no bachelor comes here who is not a devil, and who does not lead the life of a devil; and not only are they bad themselves, but they also make and contrive a thousand lawsuits, and iniquities. This regulation would be greatly for your Highness's service, for the land is new."†

Vasco Nuñez to King Ferdinand, Jan. 20, 1513.

Hispaniola.

The prejudice against lawyers was probably communicated by the early Spanish conquerors to the inhabitants of the conquered nations. In a memorable rebellion that took place in the Island

* "Cuios Procuradores Antonio Velazquez, í Panfilo de Narvaez, haviendo pedido muchas cosas, al cabo alcançaron, que porque de haver pasado Letrados á Cuba, havian nacido Pleitos entre los Vecinos, qùe no pasasen mas, í que los que en ella estaban no abogasen."—HERRERA, *Hist. de las Indias*, dec. 2, lib. 2, cap. 8.

† NAVARRETE, *Col.*, t. 3, p. 374.

of Hispaniola, which began in the year 1519, and was not finally quelled until the year 1533, predatory bands of fugitive Indians roamed about the island and harassed the Spaniards, who, from warriors, had become peaceful colonists and industrious growers of sugar. On one occasion, a young Spaniard, who had been captured by some of these revolters, and had been sentenced by them to lose his right hand, besought his captors to cut off the left hand instead, whereupon the Indian in charge of the execution replied with these convincing words:—"You are a lawyer. Be thankful that they do not slay you, and have patience." This anecdote was related by the sufferer himself to the historian Oviedo.* B. XII. Ch. 1.

In the agreement made by the Emperor with Pizarro, in 1529, respecting the discovery of Peru, it was determined that there should not be any lawyers in that country.† Peru.

In 1541 the agreement made between the Emperor and Cabeça de Vaca contained a stipulation that there should be no lawyers or proctors in the province of La Plata, for experience had shown that, in lands newly-peopled, many quarrels and lawsuits were promoted by them.‡ Rio de la Plata.

* "Yo le vi sin la mano .... él le rogó que no le cortassen la mano derecha, sino la ezquierda; é el Tamayo le dixo assí: 'Bachiller soys: agradesçed que no os matan é aved paçiençia.'"—Oviedo, *Hist. Gen. y Nat. de Indias*, lib. 5, cap. 4.

† Herrera, *Hist. de las Indias*, dec. 4, lib. 6, cap. 5.

‡ "Que no huviese Letrados, ni Procuradores, porque la experiencia havia mostrado, que en las Tierras nuevamente pobladas se seguian muchas diferencias, i Pleitos, por su causa."—Herrera, *Hist. de las Indias*, dec. 7, lib. 2, cap. 8.

B. XII. Ch. I. Mexico.

And now, in this memorial to the Emperor, from the *Conquistadores* of Mexico, BERNAL DIAZ states—"We supplicated him that he should not send lawyers, for in entering the country they would throw it into confusion with their books, and there would be lawsuits and dissensions."*

The King granted their request, and in the regulations which he made for the colony in 1523, he consented, "in order that they (the colonists) might perpetuate themselves and live in peace," that no lawyers should be allowed to go there, or, if any should go, that they should not be allowed to advocate causes.†

In 1527 the matter was reconsidered, and lawyers were allowed to go to New Spain, "as the affairs of that country were now of such magnitude that they (the lawyers) could not be dispensed with."

Difficulties about permitting lawyers to go to New Spain.

In the following year, however, it appears that the colonists in New Spain again petitioned against the entry of lawyers, alleging the mischiefs they had caused. On the other hand, it was argued, there were people who could not defend their own causes. Finally, the Court of Spain empowered the authorities in Mexico to act as they might think best in the matter, adding this remarkable proviso,—that the advocates were to

* "Le suplicámos que no embiasse Letrados, porque en entrando en la tierra, la pondrian en rebuelta con sus libros, é auria Pleitos, y dissensiones."—BERNAL DIAZ, cap. 169.

† "Para se perpetuar, í vivir en paz, se mandó, que no se consintiese, ni diese lugar, que huviese Procuradores, ni Letrados, que abogasen; í si algunos fuesen á ella, no les permitiese abogar."—HERRERA, *Hist. de las Indias*, dec. 3, lib. 5, cap. 2.

swear that if their clients had not the right on their side, they would not help them.* B. XII. Ch. I.

In 1532, notice was taken of the fact that "by the malice of men, and the introduction of so many lawyers and scriveners," the laudable custom of deciding suits by arbitration had fallen into desuetude, and the Spanish Government sought to bring back the state of things to that of the good old times.† Settlement of suits by arbitration encouraged.

I have little doubt that lawyers and lawsuits flourished in New Spain, notwithstanding this last effort of the Court to restrain them. But the protest uniformly made by the colonists in every infant colony, and not merely made once, but persisted in, is a circumstance which the statesman will not pass by without heed. It would almost seem as if each colonist had undergone some dread experience of law, and felt as if

* "Con tanto, que luego que començasen á abogar, í entender en los negocios, jurasen, que si sus Partes no tenian justicia, no les acudirian, ni pedirian términos, á fin de dilatar."—HERRERA, *Hist. de las Indias*, dec. 4, lib. 3, cap. 9.

† "Í porque se havia usado en los principios de los Descubrimientos de estas Indias, í Poblaciones, no permitir Letrados, ni Procuradores, por escusar Pleitos, las diferencias se componian con juicio de buen Varon, í con el alvedrio de buenas, í discretas Personas, con que la Gente vivia con maior quietud, í conformidad, í iá, por la malicia de los Hombres, é introducion de tantos Letrados, í Escrivanos, se havia perdido esta buena, í loable costumbre; í no solo se havian dado á pleitear, pero si como antes algunos Pleitos se comprometian en Jueces Arbitros, iá no querian, como solian, pasar por las sentencias de ellos; por lo qual se mandó, *que se executasen todas las arbitrarias, dadas conforme á la Lei de Madrid, que establecieron los Reies Católicos en Año de mil quatrocientos í quarenta í nueve.*"—HERRERA, *Hist. de las Indias*, dec. 5, lib. 2, cap. 8. There must be some mistake in this passage, for Ferdinand and Isabella were not born in 1449, but probably they confirmed the laws with respect to arbitration which are alluded to by Herrera.

B. XII. Ch. I.

Much law cannot be borne where the rest of life is very difficult.

that which might be borne in an old country, where other things have been worn into some forms of convenience, could not be endured when the rest of life was also severe and complicated. It was too much for a man who had to fight against new diseases, noxious animals, a trying climate, and surrounding barbarians, to be also molested by the cruel frivolities, the fatal forms, the needless precautions which soon become snares, the subtlety applied to verbiage which no skill can securely arrange and no dialectics can disentangle, and all the vast delay, which belong to great lawsuits in highly-civilized communities. These things can only be borne when the rest of life is very smooth.

It was a pity that the colonists often cumbered their protest against lawyers by putting in the same class with them converted Moors and Jews.* But the dread and horror of these converts, who might, however, have made admirable citizens in a new country, was such, as to render the Spaniards of that day utterly unreasonable and unjust towards them.†

* "Suplicáronle les embiasse Obispos, y Religiosos para predicar y convertir Indios, y algun Cosmógrapho, que viesse la mucha y muy rica tierra, que avian ganado para su Magestad. . . . . Y que no dexasse passar tornadizos, Médicos, ni Letrados, (y no creo que erravan, y fuera bien si se hiziera.)"—PRUDENCIO DE SANDOVAL, *Historia de la Vida y Hechos del Emperador Carlos V.* Parte 1, lib. 4, cap. 26.

† In a private memorandum furnished to the Emperor respecting his Council in Spain, the question of the orthodox descent of each councillor is canvassed. The following is a specimen:—"El Doctor Guevara es hombre bien acondicionado. No tiene experiencia, que ha poco que está en el Consejo, y

As the Anglo-Saxon and the Spaniard have been the two great modern colonizers of the world, it cannot be without profit for us to look closely at such indications as the above of the feelings and opinions of the first European occupants of the New World. Moreover, to note the evils which a new colony seeks especially to free itself from, is a way of discerning the sincere thoughts of the subjects in the mother country.

The infant colony, though not as yet much disturbed by lawyers, was vexed by the difficulties which naturally beset such adverse undertakings as the settlement of men in new lands. The cost of everything was so extravagant that Cortes was obliged to appoint two persons to make a tariff of prices. The coinage, also, was tampered with, which, as was natural, only led to confusion, and did no good to those who had tampered with it.* Of all the new things that probably were introduced into Mexico at that time, water-mills were of the greatest advantage, especially to the Indian women.†

Prices fixed by law.

Coinage adulterated.

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antes no tuvo otro oficio. Sus letras no parece que sean muchas ni su autoridad. No sé si es hombre limpio: dicen que lo es y que su muger es conversa. Él es de Madrid y ella de Búrgos." — *Documentos Inéditos*, tom. I, p. 125.

* See BERNAL DIAZ, cap. 157.

† "No apartemos al trigo del molino de agua. Quando se edificó el primero en México, hizieron los Españoles grandes fiestas; y los Indios á su semejança; y con mayor demonstracion las Indias; porque daban principio á su descanso.

En esta ocasion fué quando dixo un Indio anciano, burlando de la invencion: Que hazia holgazanes á los hombres, í muy iguales; pues no se sabia quien era Señor, ó criado. Y añadia: que los ignorantes nacieron para servir, y los sabios para mandar, y holgar." — GIL GONZALEZ DAVILA, *Teatro Eclesiástico de la Primitiva Iglesia de las Indias Occidentales*, tom. I, p. 8. Madrid, 1649.

B. XII. Ch. I.

Amidst all his other occupations, Cortes did not forget his duty as a general, nor did he allow his Spaniards to enter the city of Mexico until he had built a citadel which commanded the town and secured the obedience of the native Mexicans.

Fortress built at Mexico.

That done, he entered Mexico. The state of the town at this early period cannot better be described than in the words of Cortes himself.

Cortes to the Emperor on the repeopling of Mexico.

"Because I always desired that this city should be rebuilt, on account of its grandeur and marvellous situation (*maravilloso assiento*), I laboured to bring back all the inhabitants, who, since the war, were scattered in many places. And, although I have always kept, and still keep, the King of the city prisoner, I made a captain-general of his—whom I had captured during the war, and whom I knew from the time of Montezuma—take charge of the repeopling. And, in order that he might have more authority, I conferred upon him the same office which he had held in the time of his Lord, namely, that of *Cihuacuatl*, which means Lieutenant of the King. And to other principal persons,* whom I had also known before, I gave other offices of government in the city, which they had been accustomed to hold.

Reappoints the *Cihuacuatl*.

* The respectful manner in which Cortes speaks of these Mexican officers is worthy of note. The only sure method of appreciating the merits of a conquered race is to observe the impression made by them on those who saw them, and who were in a state of civilization not far distant from our own. The inhabitants of America, at the time of their conquest, are best understood by studying the writings of Las Casas, Columbus, Cortes, and Bernal Diaz, all of whom coincide in manifesting a great respect for the conquered races.

And to this *Cihuacuatl*, and to the rest, I gave lordships of lands, and of people, so that they might be maintained, though not to the same extent as heretofore, for fear of their rebelling; and I have always endeavoured to honour and favour them. They have worked in such a manner that there are already thirty thousand inhabitants in the city, and the same order that there used to be in their market-places and barterings. And I have given them such liberties and exemptions that every day the population is increasing; for they live much at their ease, and the workmen in the mechanical arts, of whom there are many, live by the daily wages which they gain amongst the Spaniards, as carpenters, masons, stone-cutters, silversmiths, and other workmen." He then proceeds to speak of the persons who live by fishing, which was a great branch of commerce there, and of the many agriculturalists. He begs the King to send seeds* and fruits from Spain, "as the natives of these parts are very fond of cultivating the earth and rearing plantations."† Finally, he concludes by telling the Emperor that in the

Means of support for the Mexican officers.

30,000 inhabitants: order re-established.

Mexican mechanics paid by daily wages.

Agriculture to be encouraged.

* Davila mentions that the first grain of corn which sprung up was sown by a servant of Cortes: it produced four hundred-fold.—"Házense grandes cosechas: dos vezes se coge trigo en el año. Y para que se vea la pujança, y poderío de la tierra, Juan Garrido, criado de Hernando Cortés sembró en un huerto tres granos de trigo; perdióse el uno, y los dos dieron mas de quatrocientos granos, y poco á poco se cogió infinito trigo; y de lo que es de regadío se coge en mayor abundancia; porque un grano produce docientos y mas."—Gil Gonzalez Davila, *Teatro Eclesiástico*, tom. 1, p. 8.

† "Segun los Naturales de estas partes son Amigos de cultivar las Tierras, y de traher Arboledas."—Lorenzana, p. 376.

B. XII. Ch. I.

Prospects for Mexico.

Spanish part of the town there are many houses already built, and many begun, and that in five years' time it will be "the most noble and populous city in the world, and with very fine buildings." He adds that there are two large market-places, one in the Mexican, and the other in the Spanish quarter.

It may seem ungracious, when recounting so many acts of great sagacity on the part of Cortes in the civil and military government of Mexico and its dependencies, to comment upon any error or omission. But there is one matter which pre-eminently demanded the attention of Cortes, and to which, as far as we know, he does not appear to have given his usual forecasting thought. For the good government of the nations he had conquered, for the advantageous settlement of the Spaniards themselves, and especially for the completion of the conquest with the least possible effusion of blood and waste of treasure, it was above all things necessary that the Indians and the Spaniards should understand one another. An interpreter was worth an army; and it is almost impossible to appreciate the nature of the conquest thoroughly, in all its horrors and in all its difficulties, without a constant recollection of the fact that opposing armies, that both conquerors and the conquered, that allies, that governors and their subjects, and that even masters and their servants, had, for the most part, only the rudest means of communication. The Church, containing the learned men of the day, was sure to

The value of interpreters.

undertake, and did undertake, the remedy for this great evil. It may be said that Cortes waited for the advent of the Franciscans and Dominicans, whom he more than once petitioned the Court of Spain to send to the new country. But it must be owned that it would have completed the manifestation of his sagacity, if he had taken any steps at once for training some few Spaniards and some few Indians as interpreters. Geronimo de Aguilar died some time in the first three or four years after the taking of Mexico; and the Indian woman, Marina, the once-beloved of Cortes, was probably the only very good interpreter then left. After Cortes, she must be considered to have been the most important personage—the one who could least be spared—in New Spain.

Cortes on the subject of conversion.

An object, which Cortes never lost sight of, was the conversion of the natives. In his report to the Emperor, dated the 15th of October, 1524, he says that, "as many times as I have written to your Sacred Majesty, I have told your Highness of the readiness which there is in some of the natives of these parts to receive our Holy Catholic Faith, and become Christians. And I have sent to supplicate your Imperial Majesty that you would have the goodness to provide religious persons, of good life and example, for that end." Cortes then proceeds to suggest that these should be monastic persons, and he speaks very plainly against bishops and other prelates.*

* "Porque habiendo Obispos, y otros Prelados, no dejarian de seguir la costumbre, que por nuestros pecados hoy tienen, en

B. XII. Ch. 1.

This is the passage which, I imagine, has led some ingenious persons to believe that Cortes was inclined to the Protestant doctrines. To my mind, it is to be explained by his great desire for conversion, in which he wisely foresaw the religious Orders would be most useful. Perhaps, also, his dislike to Bishop Fonseca may be traced in this general outbreak against bishops.

Cortes adverse to bishops.

It must have been with great satisfaction, that Cortes in this year (1524) had to welcome the arrival of Martin de Valencia* and his Franciscan brethren.

Arrival of the Franciscans. 1524.

As there were many things connected with the Church in the New World which required

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disponer de los bienes de la Iglesia, que es gastarlos en pompas, y en otros vicios: en dejar Mayorazgos á sus Hijos, ó Parientes; y aun seria otro mayor mal, que como los Naturales de estas partes tenian en sus tiempos Personas Religiosas, que entendian en sus Ritos y Ceremonias, y estos eran tan recogidos, assí en honestidad, como en castidad, que si alguna cosa, fuera de esto, á alguno se le sentia, era punido con pena de muerte. E si agora viessen las cosas de la Iglesia, y servicio de Dios, en poder de Canónigos, ó otras Dignidades; y supiessen, que aquellos eran Ministros de Dios, y los viessen usar de los vicios, y profanidades, que agora en nuestros tiempos en essos Reynos usan, seria menospreciar nuestra Fé, y tenerla por cosa de burla." — LORENZANA, p. 392.

* Martin de Valencia was endowed with inquisitorial powers in New Spain, and this was the first entrance of the Inquisition into Mexico.—"Quando el año de 1524, passo á Mexico el Padre fr. Martin de Valencia, con sus Religiosos de San Francisco, aun no era muerto el Padre fr. Pedro de Córdova, y assí por la autoridad de Inquisidor que tenia, le hizo comissario en toda la Nueva-España, con licencia de castigar delinquentes en ciertos casos, reservando para si el Inquisidor el conocimiento de algunos mas graves." — ANTONIO DE REMESAL, *Historia de la Provincia de San Vincente de Chiapa y Guatemala*, lib. 2, cap. 3. Madrid, 1619.

An account in detail of the immigration of the religious Orders into New Spain, will be given in the history of Guatemala.

settlement, a synod was immediately held. It consisted of five *clérigos*, nineteen *religiosos*, six *letrados*, and Cortes himself.* At this synod the difficult question of polygamy was discussed; and it was arranged that the Indian husband might choose as his legal wife the one he liked best.†

Few conquerors or statesmen can have transacted more important affairs than we see that Cortes had to deal with in the three years and two months that had now elapsed since the Conquest of Mexico.

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* "Y para que en todo se procediesse conforme á lo dispuesto por la Santa Madre Iglesia. Fray Martin de Valencia, como Legado del Santíssimo Papa, juntó un Synodo, que fué el primero que se celebró en el Nuevo Mundo, y en él se hallaron, 5 Clérigos, 19 Religiosos, 6 Letrados, y con ellos D. Fernando Cortes."—GIL GONZALEZ DAVILA, *Teatro Eclesiástico*, tom. 1, p. 20.

† "Declararon, que por entonces casasen con la que quisiesen, pues no se sabian los ritos de sus Matrimonios."—GOMARA, *Crónica de la Nueva-España*, cap. 167. BARCIA, *Historiadores*, tom. 2.

"Ultimamente habiendose ocurrido á la Cathedra de San Pedro, decidió el Señor Paulo III. por un Breve, en que expresamente manda, que quando uno viniesse á la Fé, se le dé la primera de las Mugeres que tenia en su Gentilidad; y si no supiesse declarar qual era la primera, se le dé la que el quisiesse."—F. A. LORENZANA, *Concilios Provinciales de Mexico*, Nota, p. 6. Mexico, 1769.

CHAPTER II.

CHRISTOVAL DE OLID SENT BY CORTES TO HONDURAS —HIS REBELLION—CORTES GOES TO HONDURAS TO CHASTISE CHRISTOVAL DE OLID—DISSENSIONS IN MEXICO DURING HIS ABSENCE—EXECUTION OF THE KINGS OF MEXICO AND TLACUBA—RETURN OF CORTES TO MEXICO—PONCE DE LEON COMES TO TAKE A RESIDENCIA OF CORTES.

B. XII. Ch. 2.

THE next great transaction of Cortes is one which led to the most disastrous consequences, and is not, as it appears to me, marked by his accustomed sagacity. Even the shrewdest men, however, are liable to singular errors of judgment, from the temptation to continue to do something similar to that which they have once done well. In the management of an expedition through a hostile or dubious country, Cortes was transcendent. But a sagacity of another kind was more in demand now; and for some years he would have served his country better as a statesman than as a soldier.

Christoval de Olid sent to Honduras, Jan. 1524.

Soon after the settlement of the affairs of Panuco, Cortes had despatched Christoval de Olid, one of those captains who had distinguished themselves in the siege, to make a settlement in Honduras. This expedition started on the 11th of January, 1524. Christoval de Olid proved unfaithful to his trust, and gave undeniable

signs of setting up an independent government for himself. Cortes was particularly indignant at the conduct of Olid; and his rage, shown by the swelling of the veins in his throat and the dilating of his nostrils, must have been closely watched and reported to the Council of the Indies at home, for we find that Peter Martyr was well aware of it.* Cortes despatched an armament commanded by his cousin, Francisco de las Casas, to reduce Olid to obedience; and afterwards sent, to support Las Casas, a vessel laden with arms and provisions, under a certain Pedro Gonzalez, a native of Truxillo, and, therefore, a fellow-townsman of Cortes. Having, however, received no good tidings from these captains, the General resolved to go himself, and bring Olid to a sense of his duty. The journey was a most perilous one. The settlement which Olid had made was not less than fifteen hundred miles from Mexico, and the King's officers (who had arrived at Mexico in the year 1524) naturally remonstrated with Cortes upon his undertaking such an expedition. It is probable that their remonstrance did not meet the considerations which induced Cortes to undertake this expedition. Almost any other man in the world, if employed as Cortes had been since the conquest of Mexico, would have supposed, and justly, that he had been leading a very active and energetic life. But

Cortes resolved to go to Honduras.

* "Super Christofori Oliti, de quo lata mentio facta est in superioribus, inobservantia, Cortesium tanta rabies invasit, ut vivere ulterius nolle videretur Olito impunito, cum narium et venarum gutturis summo tumore præ ira, sæpe dedit de tanta animi perturbatione signa, neque a verbis id significantibus abstinuit." — PETER MARTYR, *De Orbe Novo*, dec. 8, cap. 10.

B. XII. Ch. 2.

Cortes felt that for some time he had been idle, and had done no new thing; and it now appeared to him that he "must engage in something."* Accordingly he determined to persevere in his expedition,† and made his preparations for quitting Mexico in the following manner. He appointed the Treasurer, Alonso de Estrada (a natural son of Ferdinand the Catholic), and the Contador Albornoz as his Lieutenants in the government. He named as Alcalde Mayor the Licentiate Zuazo, the same man who had been sent by Cardinal Ximenes to accompany the Jeronimites, and who had been a great friend of Las Casas.‡ He left Rodrigo de Paz, a cousin of his,

Cortes provides for the government of Mexico during his absence.

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* "Dada órden para en lo de Cristoval Dolid como á V. M. escribí, porque me pareció que ya habia mucho tiempo que mi persona estaba ociosa y no hacia cosa de nuevo de que V. M. se sirviese á causa de la lesion de mi brazo, aunque no muy libre de ella, me pareció que debia de entender en algo."—*Relacion hecha al* Emperador Carlos V. *por* Hernan Cortés *sobre la expedicion de Honduras. De Temixtitan (Méjico) á 3 de Setiembre, de* 1526. *Documentos Inéditos*, tom. 4, p. 10.

† A letter to the Emperor from Cortes about the Olid affair is lost. I conjecture, from some slight indications, that the letter in question informed his Majesty that the present expedition was not necessarily to proceed to Honduras, but that if Cortes received favourable intelligence about Olid, the expedition would have another object, and that it was originally intended as much for further discovery and conquest as for chastising a disobedient lieutenant.

Gomara, indeed, says that Cortes got free from the requisitions of the King's officers by promising to go to Coatzacualco only, and other provinces in that neighbourhood which were in revolt.—"Ellos entonces le requirieron de parte del Emperador, que no fuese; í él prometió, que no iria sino á Coaçacoalco, í otras Provincias por allí rebeladas; í con tanto, se eximió de los ruegos, í requirimientos, í aprestó su partida, aunque con mucho seso."—Gomara, *Crónica de la Nueva-España*, cap. 163 (2). Barcia, *Historiadores*, tom. 2.

‡ See *ante*, vol. 1, book 8, p. 515.

as his Major-domo, and as Alguazil Mayor. To all of these officers, to his old friend and companion in the conquest, Father Olmedo, and to a Franciscan monk, named Toribio Motolinia, he left the charge of converting the natives, and of preventing insurrections.* In order further to secure the fidelity of the natives he carried with him the Kings of Mexico and Tlacuba, with other Mexican lords. The 12th of October, 1524, was the day on which Cortes quitted Mexico, and commenced this expedition.

Cortes quits Mexico, Oct. 12, 1524.

It was a very gallant company that Cortes took with him on this memorable expedition. At the head of the old *Conquistadores* was Gonzalo de Sandoval, the former Alguazil Mayor, and the constant companion-in-arms of Cortes. As spiritual advisers, the Spanish Commander had in his suite a friar of the Order of Mercy, named Juan de las Varillas, a *clérigo* whose name is not given, and two Flemish monks of the Franciscan Order, whom Bernal Diaz pronounces to have been good theologians.

The companions of Cortes.

The members of his own household who accompanied Cortes were his Master of the Household, his Chief Sewer (*maestresala*), his Vintner

His household.

* "Y encomendó á todos aquellos oficiales de la hazienda de su Magestad, á quien dexava el cargo de la Governacion, que tuviessen mui grande cuidado de la conversion de los naturales, y ansimismo lo encomendó á un Frai Toribio Motolinia de la Orden del señor San Francisco, y al Padre Frai Bartolomé de Olmedo, de mi tantas vezes nombrado, Fraile de la Orden de Nuestra Señora de la Merced, é que tenia mucha mano, é estimacion en todo México, é lo merecia, porque era muy buen Fraile, é Religioso; y les encargó, que mirassen no se alçasse México, ni otras Provincias."—Bernal Diaz, cap. 174.

B. XII. Ch. 2.

(*botillero*),* his Pantler, his Steward (*despensero*), and his Chamberlain.† He took with him a physician and a surgeon; and his suite included several pages, two equerries, eight grooms, and two falconers. He had, moreover, several players on the clarionet, sackbut, and hautbois, a dancer on the tight-rope, and a juggler who made puppets dance. He also took mules and muleteers; and, lastly, which was by far the most important thing, a great herd of swine. As an interpreter he had only Doña Marina, for, as before stated, Geronimo de Aguilar was dead. Finally, Cortes brought with him large quantities of gold and silver.

Many reasons of policy might be adduced for all this pomp. It might be said that such pomp was necessary in order to convey to the Mexicans an idea of his power and grandeur: that it was adviseable, as tending to separate him a little from the familiarity of his old companions in arms: and, moreover, that it was a protection to him against sudden treachery or revolt. But the truth is, Cortes was fond of state, and always conducted himself as if he had been born to the use of it. He was a man in whose composition there was much of melancholy, and who probably made no human being a partaker of his thoughts. Such men, it may be observed, are fond of numerous retinues and large households. They like to have many people about

Cortes liked state.

* "*Botillero.* Potionum gelidarum conditor."—*Diccionario por la Academia Española.*

This would be an important officer in a hot country.

† See BERNAL DIAZ, cap. 174.

them, who fill up life and give a movement to it, and in whom they need not confide. Like other great men and eminent soldiers, amongst whom Napoleon, Julius Cæsar, and Wallenstein might be reckoned, Cortes was magnificent, without being in the least degree luxurious; and the service which such men require from those around them is such as not to minister to their indolence, but rather to increase their sphere of action.

What kind of friend Cortes was leaving behind him at Mexico in Albornoz, may be discerned from a letter which Peter Martyr sent to the Pope, and which forms a sort of postscript to his eighth decade, bearing date the 20th of October, 1525. Peter Martyr was, fortunately for the interests of history, a member of the Council of the Indies; and, writing about this date, he mentions that letters in cipher have come from Albornoz, describing "the craft, the burning avarice, and the scarcely concealed usurpation" of Cortes. These letters, too, came at a time when, as the historian justly remarks, suspicions were not wanting of the fidelity of Cortes. The judicious old man adds, "Time will judge whether these accusations are true, or whether they are fabricated in order to gain favour."* Certainly,

Albornoz an enemy of Cortes.

* "Arcanæ vero ac particulares litteræ a solo computatore Albornozio, regio a secretis, veniunt sub ignotis caracteribus, quos Zifras nuncupat usus, discedenti Albornozio assignatos, quod ab eo tempore suspitione de animo Cortesii non careremus. Hæ contra Cortesii vafros astus et ardentem avariciam ac semiapertam tyrannidem formatæ sunt, an ex vero, an, uti sæpe solet, captandæ gratiæ causa hæc fabricata sint, judicabit aliquando

B. XII. Ch. 2.

Cortes by no means escaped the subsequent difficulties which such unrivalled transactions as his are sure to breed. His early career, not by any means unclouded, gave weight at Court to any accusations that might be brought against him from New Spain.

The Factor and the Veedor discontented.

Besides the official persons to whom Cortes had given charge of the government during his absence, there were two other officers of the King, powerful personages, namely the Factor, Gonçalo de Salaçar, and the Veedor, Peralmindez Chirinos, and these men were much disgusted at being left in a kind of subjection to a colleague —Alonso de Estrada. Finding, however, that they could not dissuade Cortes from his enterprize, they begged permission to accompany him as far as Espíritu Santo* in Coatzacualco, a new town of the Spaniards, which was situated a hundred and ten leagues south-east from Mexico. On the road the Factor, as he travelled next to Cortes, did not fail to renew his remonstrances in scraps of song, as the manner of that age was:—

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tempus; delecti namque jam sunt viri graves ad hæc inquirenda mittendi. Quando latentia nunc hæc patefient, beatitudini tuæ significabuntur."—PETER MARTYR, *De Orbe Novo*, dec. 8, cap. 10.

* This town had been founded by Sandoval, when he was sent to reduce several provinces south-east of Mexico which, according to the language of Cortes, had rebelled, and which had all been under the government of a woman. Cortes thus relates the founding of this town.—"Y él tubo tan buen órden, que con saltear una noche un Pueblo, donde prendió una Señora, á quien todos en aquellas partes obedecian, se apaciguó, porque ella embió á llamar todos los Señores, y les mandó, que obedeciessen lo que se les quisiesse mandar en nombre de Vuestra Magestad, porque ella assí lo habiá de hacer: é assí llegaron hasta el dicho Rio, y á quatro leguas de la boca de él, que sale á la Mar, porque mas cerca no se halló asiento, se pobló,

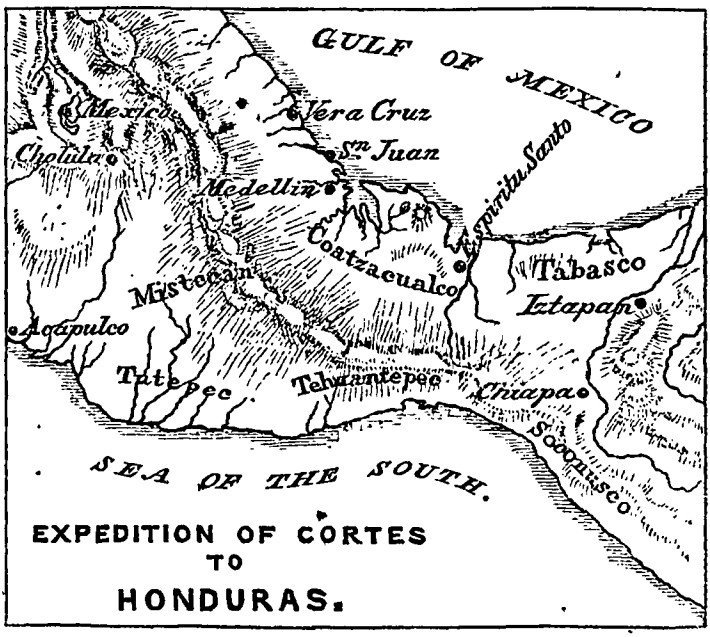
"Ay tio bolvámonos,
Ay tio bolvámonos;"

to which Cortes was wont to sing in reply—

"Adelante mi sobrino,
Adelante mi sobrino,
Y no creais en agüeros
Que será lo que Dios quisiere
Adelante mi sobrino."*

Unfortunately, before Cortes and his company reached Espíritu Santo, a feud broke out at Mexico

Estrada and Albornoz quarrel.



between Alonso de Estrada and Rodrigo Albornoz about the appointment of some minor officer, and the feud rose to such a height that swords were drawn, or were about to be drawn.† The Factor

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y fundó una Villa, á la qual se puso nombre el Espíritu Santo." —Lorenzana, p. 331.

* Bernal Diaz, cap. 174.

† "Llegó á punto el enojo, que les obligó á meter mano á

B. XII. Ch. 2.

was a false, flattering, obsequious man. This quarrel breaking out so soon between the officers left at home naturally added great weight to the Factor's remonstrances. Cortes, no doubt, believed him to be a true friend; and, in an evil hour, drew up a despatch, by which he authorized the Factor and the Veedor to be joined in the same authority with the Treasurer and the Contador, and even to supersede these two last-named officers, in case they should not have composed their differences.

Cortes gives the Factor and the Veedor authority.

From the known astuteness of Cortes, men found it difficult to suppose that any action of his was without some subtle motive; and imagined that, as he knew that all the King's officers had written home unfavourably about him, it would tend to damage their representations, if it were found that they could not agree amongst themselves.* Cortes, however, was too fond of good government to adopt such a scheme as this, and his plan of associating the Factor and the Veedor with the other two King's officers does not appear to have been an unreasonable one. The only blame to which Cortes seems liable in the matter is in the absence of his usual sharp discern-

las Espadas, estando en Cabildo, sobre aver de hacer Nombramiento de un Alguacil."—Torquemada, *Monarquía Indiana*, lib. 5, cap. 2.

* "Sabia, que todos, de conformidad, avian escrito al Rei, informándole mal de su Persona, y le parecia, que si entre ellos avia discordias, se deshacia todo el mal, que de él avian escrito; pero nunca pensó, que las diferencias llegaran á tanto extremo." — Torquemada, *Monarquía Indiana*, lib. 5, cap. 2. See also Herrera, dec. 3, lib. 6, cap. 2.

ment of men's characters, and that he failed to perceive what a flattering rogue* the Factor was. B. XII. Ch. 2.

Armed with these powers, the Factor and the Veedor went back to Mexico, and, though the others had come to an agreement, the newly-arrived lieutenants sought to gain the whole power for themselves. From this dispute arose a state of confusion which lasted during nearly the entire period that Cortes was absent. It will be needless for me to recount the various intrigues, conspiracies, and surprizes which occupied the colonists of Mexico for the twenty months that Cortes was absent during his perilous journey in Honduras. They ended in his cousin and Mayordomo, Rodrigo de Paz, being hanged,† and his own house being rifled,—in Zuazo, who was a just man, being deprived of his wand of office and banished

The Factor and the Veedor seek to usurp the whole authority.

Utter confusion in the Government of Mexico. 1524 to 1526.

* Bernal Diaz gives, in few words, a ludicrous account of the parting, and especially of the almost sobbing adieus of the Factor.—"Pero dexemos esto, y diré, que quando se despidieron el Factor, y el Veedor de Cortés para se bolver á México, con quantos cumplimientos, y abraços, y tenia el Factor una manera como de sollozos, que parecia que queria llorar al despedirse."—Bernal Diaz, cap. 174.

† As an instance of the sinister dealings of the Factor it may be observed that he endeavoured, as many wicked civil governors have done since, to bring his enemy within the grasp of the Inquisition; but Martin de Valencia declared that Rodrigo de Paz had confessed, was absolved, and was a good Christian. "No le quedaba á Salaçar, para verse absoluto en el Govierno, sino despachar á Rodrigo de Paz, sobre que andaba con cuidado. Y aviendo sabido, que el Custodio de San Francisco, que era el Santo Frai Martin de Valencia, le avia querido prender por mal Christiano (con la autoridad de Prelado, que entonces era de esta Tierra) trató con él, que le diese facultad para ello, porque se preferia de prendello, sin ruido. El Custodio le respondió, que yá aquel Hombre estaba confesado, y absuelto, y que no tenia causa para ello, porque era buen Christiano."—Torquemada, *Monarquía Indiana*, lib. 5, cap. 2.

B. XII. Ch. 2.

Report in Mexico of the death of Cortes.

to Medellin,—and in the Factor's rising to supreme power, which he exercised in the most shameful manner.* A report, which was very credible, of the deaths of Cortes and all his companions gave strength to the machinations of the Factor. Funeral services were performed for Cortes at Mexico, and his effects were deposited in the hands of an officer whose duty it was to take charge of the property of defunct persons.† So indignant was the Factor at any disbelief in the death of Cortes (a convenient witness had seen the spirits of Cortes and Sandoval, in flames, near the site of the great temple of Huitzilopochtli), that he ordered Juana de Marsilla, the wife of Alonso Valiente, to be publicly whipped through the streets for a witch, because she obstinately declared that Cortes and her husband (his secretary) were alive, and that she would not marry again.

Though it was not true that Cortes and his Spanish companions had perished in their journey to Honduras, there were tidings in the camp,

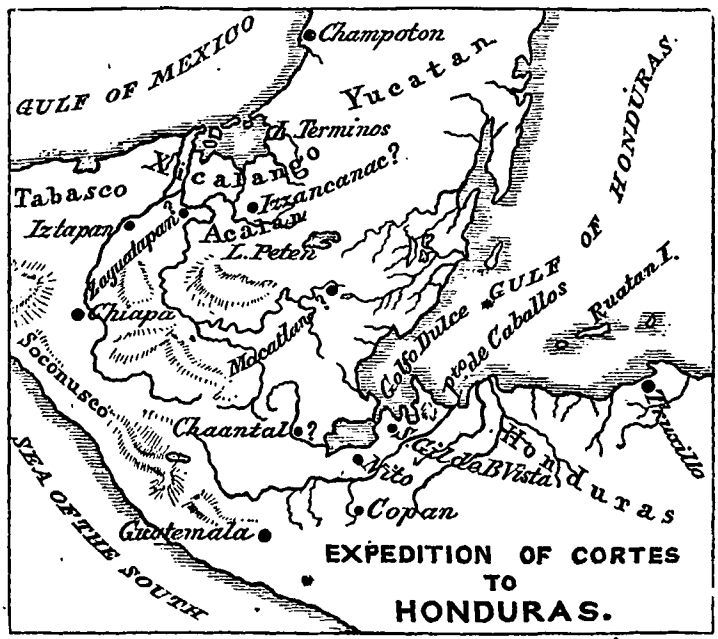
* "Embiaron á todas las Provincias á pedir el Oro, y Joias, que tenian los Señores, y les escudriñaron las Casas, y se las tomaron por fuerça, con todas las Alhajas de Plumería, y Riqueças, que tenian, haciéndoles mal tratamiento (cosa, que sintieron mucho) y si la esperança, de que Fernando Cortés era vivo, no les pusiera reportacion, y freno, se alçaran, y con todo eso se fueron muchos, desesperados, á los Montes, desde donde salian á los Caminos, y mataban á los Christianos; y en un solo Pueblo mataron quince, y mucha parte de el Mar de el Norte se alteró." —Torquemada, lib. 5, cap. 3.

† "Se apoderaron de todos los bienes de Cortés, afirmando, que era muerto, y los depositaron en el Tenedor de bienes de Difuntos." — Torquemada, *Monarquía Indiana*, lib. 5, cap. 2.

which, if they had reached Mexico, might have been the cause of additional disasters. The difficulties of march and of transit—the severe privations arising from want of food and of fodder—and the sufferings of all kinds which Cortes and his army had to undergo, rendered lax the military discipline among them. Even the Commander himself at times found the greatest difficulty in appeasing his hunger. Then, too, the nature of the ground traversed was sometimes such as to defy the maintenance of discipline. In the road, for instance, between Iztapan and

Distress of the journey to Honduras.

Difficulties of the march.



Zaguatapan the Spaniards found themselves in a wood of such extent and thickness that, as Cortes expresses it, nothing was seen except the spot where they placed their feet on the ground, and the

B. XII. Ch. 2.

aperture above them through which the heavens were discernible. Even when some of his men climbed the trees, their extent of vision was limited to a stone's throw.* The Indian guides were quite at fault, and the whole army would probably have perished, but for the use that was made of the mariner's compass. Such was the country, abounding in dense forests, wide morasses, broad, unfordable rivers,† and not without stony mountains, over which Cortes had to lead his motley band of Spanish horsemen, musicians, jugglers, and Mexican attendants. It was not likely that his prisoners—the captive monarchs of Mexico, Tlacuba, and Tezcuco—could fail to observe the inevitable relaxation of discipline, and to commune with themselves, and with each other upon the advantage which they might derive from it. They accordingly conspired. Their plan was, after destroying those Spaniards who were with them, to

The Mexican chiefs conspire.

* "Este monte era muy bravo y espantoso, por el cual anduve dos dias abriendo camino por donde señalaban aquellas guias, hasta tanto que dijeron que iban desatinados, que no sabian á donde iban; y era la montaña de tal calidad que no se via otra cosa sino donde poniamos los piés en el suelo, ó mirando arriba, la claridad del cielo: tanta era la espesura y alteza de los árboles, que aunque se subian en algunos, no podian descubrir un tiro de piedra."—*Documentos Inéditos*, tom. 4, p. 34.

† The bridges that were thrown over these formidable marshes and rivers, which chiefly owed their construction to the skill of the Mexican artificers, remained for years; and when these provinces were at peace, the admiring traveller was wont to exclaim, "These are the bridges of Cortes."—"Y despues que aquellas tierras, y Provincias estuvieron de paz, los Españoles que por aquellos caminos estavan y passavan, y hallavan algunas de las puentes sin se aver deshecho al cabo de muchos años, y los grandes árboles que en ellas poniamos, se admiran dello, y suelen dezir agora, Aquí son las puentes de Cortés, como si dixessen, las colunas de Hércules."—Bernal Diaz, cap. 178.

raise the standard of revolt, and march for Mexico. The time was very favourable for their design. Part of the Spanish troops were with Pedro de Alvarado in Guatemala; another part in Honduras with Christoval de Olid, and the Captains who had gone to subdue him. Other Spaniards, again, had gone into the province of Mechoacan, where some gold mines, according to report, had been discovered. Mexico itself was comparatively defenceless, and at no period since the conquest would a revolt have been more formidable. The Mexican troops who accompanied Cortes amounted to three thousand. Death was imminent from starvation: why should they not die to save their monarch and to recover their country?

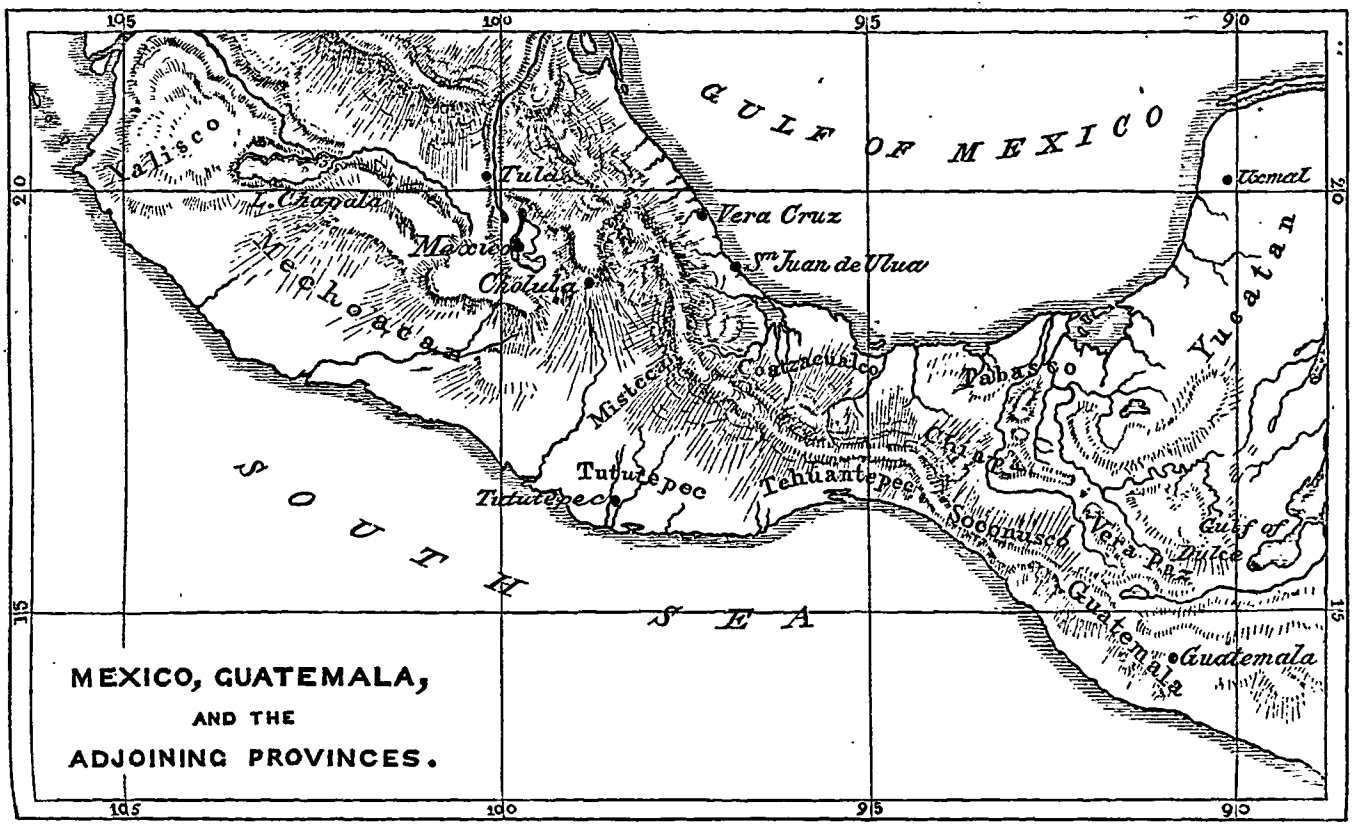
Absence of Spanish troops from Mexico.

The conspiracy was betrayed to Cortes by Mexicatzincatl, the same man, as I imagine, whom Cortes had set over the work of constructing and governing the Indian quarters of Mexico. This man probably understood better than his countrymen the solid basis upon which the power of Cortes rested, and the speed with which a common danger would compel the Spaniards to resume their accustomed wariness and discipline. The traitor showed to Cortes a paper whereon were painted the faces and names of the Mexican Lords and Princes who were concerned in the conspiracy. The Spanish Commander immediately seized upon them separately, and examined them one by one, telling each that the others had confessed the truth.

Conspiracy betrayed to Cortes.

Cortes seizes the conspirators.

According to Bernal Diaz, and also to an



MEXICO, GUATEMALA,
AND THE
ADJOINING PROVINCES.

ancient Tezcucan history,* it appears as if the King of Mexico did not confess to more than being aware of the conspiracy, and declared that he had refused to entertain it. This may be dubious; but, at any rate, the cruel practical wisdom of Cortes would make but little difference between a conspiracy suggested by the monarch himself or by others on his behalf. The result would have been the same. And Cortes saw that the sure way of putting an immediate stop to such conspiracies was to make a great example of the principal offenders. Accordingly, the Kings of Mexico and Tlacuba were condemned to death. When led to execution, the King of Mexico exclaimed, "O, Malinché, it is long that I have known the falseness of your words, and have foreseen that you would give me that death which, alas! I did not give myself, when I surrendered to you in my city of Mexico. Wherefore do you slay me without justice? May God demand it of you."

Speech of Quatemotzin.

The King of Tlacuba said that he looked upon his death as welcome, since he was to die with his Lord, the King of Mexico. After confession and absolution, the two Kings were hanged upon a ceyba tree in Izzancanac, in the province of Acalán, on one of the carnival days before shrove-tide, in the year 1525. Thus ended the great Mexican dynasty—itself a thing compacted by so much blood and toil and suffering of countless human beings. The days of deposed

The Kings of Mexico and Tlacuba put to death. 1525.

* Referred to by TORQUEMADA.

B. XII. Ch. 2.

monarchs—victims alike to the zeal of their friends and the suspicions of their captors—are mostly very brief; and perhaps it is surprising that the King of Mexico should have survived so long as four years the conquest of his capital, and have been treated during the greater part of that time with favour and honour.*

Some writers have supposed that Cortes was weary of his captives, and wished to destroy them, and that the charge of conspiracy was fictitious. Such assertions betray a total ignorance of the character of this great Spaniard. Astute men seldom condescend to lying. Now, Cortes was not only very astute, but, according to his notions, highly honourable. A genuine hidalgo, and a thoroughly

* For an account of this conspiracy, see TORQUEMADA, lib. 4, cap. 104.

loyal man, he would as soon have thought of committing a small theft as of uttering a falsehood in a despatch addressed to his sovereign.*

Cortes could well afford to be satisfied with the deaths of the two principal kings, and to spare the other conspirators, as his discovery of this conspiracy deepened the impression which the Mexicans already entertained of his supernatural knowledge. They had seen him at the time of greatest difficulty call for a mysterious-looking mirror or chart, and after watching with solicitude the trembling movements of a needle suspended over the flat surface, determine at once

* His own account of the betrayal of the conspiracy to him is in the following words:—"Aquí en esta provincia de Acalan acaeció un caso que es bien que V. M. lo sepa, y es que un ciudadano honrado de esta ciudad de Temixtitan, que se llamaba Mecicalcingo, y despues que se bautizó se llama Cristóval, vino á mí una noche muy secretamente y me trajo cierta figura en un papel de lo de esta tierra, y queriéndome dar á entender lo que significaba me dijo que Guatemacin, señor que fué de esta ciudad de Temixtitan, á quien yo despues que la gané he tenido siempre preso, teniéndole por hombre bullicioso, y le llevé conmigo aquel camino con todos los demas señores que me parecian que eran partes para la seguridad y revuelta de estas partes, é díjome aquel Cristóval que él y Guanacasin, señor que fué de Tescuco, y Tetepanguecal, señor que fué de Tacuba, y un Tacatelz que á la sazon era en esta ciudad de Méjico en la parte del Tatetulco, habian hablado muchas veces y dado parte de ello á este Messicalcingo, que agora se llama Cristóval, diciendo como estaban desposcidos de sus tierras y señorío y las mandaban los españoles, y que seria bien que buscasen algun remedio para que ellos las tornasen á señorear y poseer; y que hablando en esto muchas veces en este camino, les habia parecido que era buen remedio tener manera como me matasen á mí é á los españoles que conmigo estaban, é que muertos nosotros irian apellidando las gentes de aquellas partes hasta matar á Cristóval de Olid y á la gente que con él estaba, é hecho esto que enviarian sus mensajeros á esta ciudad de Temixtitan para que matasen todos los españoles que en ella habian quedado."—*Relacion al* EMPERADOR *por* HERNAN CORTÉS. *Doc. Inéd.*, t. 4, p. 52.

B. XII. Ch. 2.

upon his line of march, and never suffer the direction to be varied until they came out upon the very town which had been the object of the march. When, as they thought, the Spanish Commander discovered this conspiracy (for, doubtless, the faithless Mexican kept his own counsel, or he would have been torn to pieces by his countrymen), what could they imagine but that he had been conversing with that mysterious little rod of iron, whose tremblings had again revealed to its master the course to be taken in the midst of the dangers that beset him. Cortes was not the man to omit any opportunity of impressing others with a sense of his power. The belief of the attendant Mexicans in the knowledge that was thus magically conveyed to the Spanish Commander grew to such a height, that some of them, whose consciences must have been quite clear of this conspiracy, begged him to look in the mirror and the chart, and see there whether they were not loyal towards him.*

Faith amongst the Mexicans in the supernatural knowledge of Cortes.

This has been construed as an instance of the "simplicity" of the Mexicans; but it may be

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* "Porque como han visto que para acertar aquel camino, muchas veces sacaba una carta de marear y un aguja, en especial cuando se acertó el camino de Calgoatrepan, han dicho á muchos españoles que por allí lo saqué, y aun á mí me han dicho algunos de ellos queriéndome hacer cierto que me tienen buena voluntad. que para que viese sus buenas intenciones, que me rogaban mucho que mirase el espejo y la carta, y allí veria como ellos me tenian buena voluntad, pues por allí sabia todas las otras cosas. É yo tambien les hice entender que ansí era la verdad, é que en aquella aguja é carta de marear via yo é sabia é se me descubrian todas las cosas."—*Relacion al* EMPERADOR *por* HERNAN CORTÉS. *Documentos Inéditos*, tom. 4, p. 55.

doubted whether there are not many amongst ourselves who would be very much puzzled to explain the phenomena which perplexed and awed the Mexican troops. And it must be remembered that the knowledge which had been possessed by their priests, and stored up in their colleges, had, for the most part, been taken from them. If, in these times, a nation were suddenly deprived of its chief men in science and art, it would probably astound the world to see how soon the great body of that nation would degenerate into utter ignorance and superstition. The principal knowledge possessed by mankind is, even now, confined to a very few, comparatively speaking; and in those days, when the few were a favoured caste, and the Government was entirely aristocratic or despotic, the loss of the nobles, the priests, and the kings, was absolutely the destruction of the nation, as a nation. The Indian, who is now in such a state of stolidity that no reward, hardly, can induce him to stir from the squatting position that he has once taken up before the fire, is the lineal descendant, perhaps, of a man who projected, or helped to carry out, with cunning workmanship, constructions which are still a marvel to the most intelligent persons of the most civilized nations in the world.* The destruc-

How a nation might degenerate.

Knowledge confined to a few.

* Ulloa, who travelled in Peru in the year 1736, says,—"The disproportion between what I read and what I am going to relate, is so remarkable, that, on a retrospect towards past times, I am utterly at a loss to account for the universal change of things; especially when surrounded by such visible monuments of the industry, polity, and laws of the Indians of Peru, that it would be madness to question the truth of the

B. XII. Ch. 2.

tibility of such civilization as the Assyrian, Egyptian, Mexican, or Peruvian, and perhaps of others as notable, whose names even have been lost, or exist only in symbols that may never be interpreted, is not merely a marked fact in the world's annals, but one which especially requires to be kept in mind in American history, in order to prevent us from falling into the delusion of supposing that the great works and remarkable polities we read of in the New World are mythical

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accounts that have been given of them; for the ruins of these ancient works are still amazing. On the other hand, I can hardly credit my own eyes, when I behold that nation involved as it were in Cimmerian darkness—rude, indocile, and living in a barbarism little better than those who have their dwelling among the wastes, precipices, and forests. But what is still more difficult to conceive is, how these people, whose former wisdom is conspicuous in the equity of their laws, and the establishment of a government so singular as that under which they live, should at present show no traces of that genius and capacity which formed so excellent an œconomy, and so beautiful a system of social duties: though undoubtedly they are the same people, and still retain some of their ancient customs and manners."

Again, describing the sloth of the Indian, ULLOA says,—"He sits squatting on his hams (being the usual posture of all the Indians), and looks on his wife while she is doing the necessary work of the family; but, unless to drink, he never moves from the fireside, till obliged to come to table, or wait on his acquaintance. The only domestic service they do is to plough their *chacarita*, or little spot of land, in order to its being sown; but the latter, together with the rest of the culture, makes another part, which is also done by the wife and children. When they are once settled in the above posture, no reward can make them stir; so that if a traveller has lost his way, and happens to come to any of these cottages, they hide themselves, and charge their wives to say that they are not at home; when the whole labour consists in accompanying the traveller a quarter of a league, or perhaps less, to put him in his way: and for this small service, he would get a rial, or half a rial at least."—DON GEORGE JUAN, and DON ANTONIO DE ULLOA, *Voyage to South America*, translated by J. ADAMS, vol. i., pp. 401, 404. London, 1806.

or fabulous, while in truth they are quite within the domain of modern history, and rest upon similar testimony to that upon which we give credit to the annals of our own Henry the Eighth and Queen Elizabeth. The fathers of Bacon and Shakespeare were contemporaries of Montezuma and Atahuallpa.

The last of the Mexican monarchs being disposed of by this severe, but perhaps necessary, execution, our natural sympathy with the vanquished makes us glad to find that the army murmured at these things, and that there were some of the Spanish soldiers who thought the execution unjust. Bernal Diaz notes that Cortes was melancholy, depressed, and sleepless.* It is some satisfaction to imagine that bloody deeds, even such as have but the lesser stain of policy, render thick and heavy the air around the beds of those who, to avoid the phantasms of such deeds, need the forgetfulness of sleep far more than other men.

Depression of Cortes after execution of Mexican kings.

Before Cortes started from Espíritu Santo, he

* "Tambien quiero dezir, que como Cortés andava mal dispuesto, y aun mui pensativo y descontento del trabajoso camino que llevavamos, é como avia mandado ahorcar á Guatemuz, é su primo el señor de Tacuba, sin tener justicia para ello, é avia cada dia hambre, é que adolescian Españoles, é morian muchos Mexicanos, pareció ser que de noche no reposava de pensar en ello, y saliesse de la cama donde dormia á passear en una sala, adonde avia ídolos, que era aposento principal de aquel puebleçuelo, adonde tenian otros ídolos, y descuidóse y cayó mas de dos estados abaxo, y se descalabró la cabeça, y calló que no dixo cosa buena ni mala sobre ello, salvo curarse la descalabradura, y todo se lo passava y sufria." — Bernal Diaz, cap. 177.

B. XII. Ch. 2.

sent to the Lords of Tabasco and Xicalango, desiring that they would come to him, or send persons with whom he could confer. The caciques sent such persons, who, in reply to the inquiries of Cortes, informed him that on the sea-coast, beyond the country that is called Yucatan, there were certain Spaniards who did the people of that country much harm, burning *pueblos*, and slaying the inhabitants, by which the merchants of Tabasco and Xicalango (some of them probably being the persons then speaking) had lost all commerce with that coast. "And as eye-witnesses," he says, "they gave an account of all the *pueblos* on the coast, until you come to the country where Pedrarias de Avila, your Majesty's Governor, is, and they made me a map upon a cloth of the whole of it."*

Two centres of conquest, Darien and Mexico.

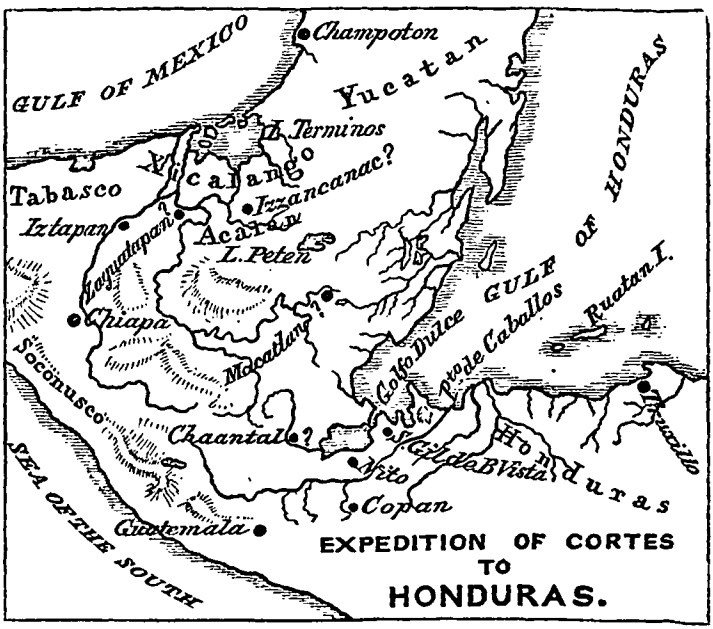
The allusion in the above words of Cortes to Pedrarias de Avila may remind us that the radiations from these two great centres of conquest and discovery in America, namely, Darien and Mexico, were about to intersect. After a short time the Darienites will go southwards to Peru, and the Mexican conquerors northwards to California.

The daily movements of the march of Cortes cannot be recorded in a history like this. But, if we would appreciate justly the nature and resources of New Spain, we must observe that the

* "Y como testigos de vista me dieron razon de casi todos los pueblos de la costa hasta llegar donde está Pedrarias de Avila, gobernador de V. M., y me hicieron una figura en un paño de toda ella." — *Documentos Inéditos*, tom. 4, p. 11.

territories traversed by Cortes possessed signs of a civilization not far inferior to that of the Mexicans. He speaks of Iztapan as "a very great thing." He mentions its pastures, its lands for agriculture, and its being surrounded by a considerable extent of settled territory.* Of Acalán, the province

Signs of civilization which Cortes meets with on his route.



in which the Mexican Kings were hanged, he says also that this was "a very great thing," where there were many *pueblos* and much people, and that it abounded in provisions, amongst which he specifies honey. He also speaks of the mer-

* "Este pueblo de Iztapan es muy grande cosa y está asentado en la ribera de un muy hermoso rio: tiene muy buen asiento para poblar en él españoles: tiene muy hermosa ribera donde hay buenos pastos: tiene muy buenas tierras de labranzas: tiene buena comarca de tierra poblada." — *Relacion al* EMPERADOR; *Documentos Inéditos*, tom. 4, p. 31.

B. XII. Ch. 2.

chants of that country.* Further on, in Macatlan, he comes upon a fortress, of which he thinks it worth while to give a minute account to the Emperor, describing its battlements, embrasures, traverses and turrets, "showing such good order and arrangement, that it could not be better, he says, considering the arms with which they fought."†

Fortress at Macatlan.

Temples at Chaantal.

At Chaantal he found temples built after the fashion of the Mexicans;‡ and we now know what remarkable buildings he might have seen, had his route diverged but a few miles from that which was taken, for he passed near the great city of Copan,§ the monuments of which remain

Cortes passed near Copan.

* "Hay en ella muchos mercaderes y gentes que tratan en muchas partes, y son ricos de esclavos y de las cosas que se tratan en la tierra." — *Documentos Inéditos*, tom. 4, p. 55.

† "La manera de este pueblo es que está en un peñol alto, y por la una parte le cerca una gran laguna, y por la otra parte un arroyo muy hondo que entra en la laguna, y no tiene sino sola una entrada llana, y todo él está cercado de un fosado hondo, y despues del fosado un pretil de madera hasta los pechos de altura, y despues de este pretil una cerca de tablones muy gordos de hasta dos estados en alto con sus troneras en toda ella para tirar sus flechas, y á trechos de la cerca unas garitas altas que sobrepujan sobre la cerca otro estado y mas y ansímismo con sus troneras y muchas piedras encima para pelear desde arriba, y sus troneras tambien en lo alto, y de dentro de todas las casas del pueblo ansímismo sus troneras, y traveses á las calles, por tan buena órden y concierto que no podia ser mejor, digo para propósito de las armas con que pelean."—*Documentos Inéditos*, tom. 4, p. 61.

‡ "Y con mi gente junta salí á una gran plaza donde ellos tenian sus mezquitas y oratorios, y como vimos las mezquitas y aposentos al rededor de ellas á la forma y manera que las de Culua, púsonos mas espanto de el que traiamos porque hasta allí despues que pasámos de Acalan no las habiamos visto de aquella manera."—*Documentos Inéditos*, tom. 4, p. 99.

§ "As at Copan, I shall not at present offer any conjecture in regard to the antiquity of these buildings, merely remarking that at ten leagues' distance is a village called Las Tres Cruces, or the Three Crosses, from three crosses,

to this day, to astound the traveller* and perplex the antiquarian. B. XII. Ch. 2.

It was not until Cortes approached the sea-coast, that he heard that Christoval de Olid had been assassinated by Francisco de Las Casas, one End of Christoval de Olid. 1524.

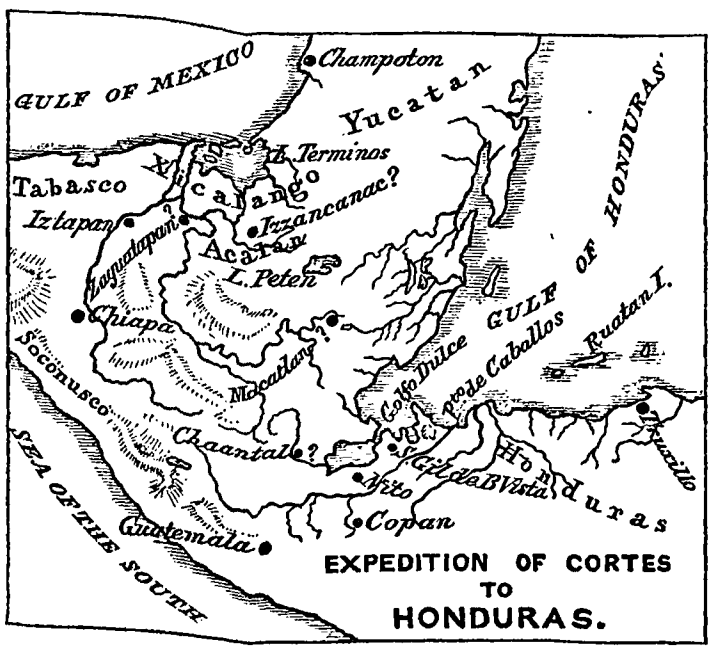
which, according to tradition, Cortez erected at that place when on his conquering march from Mexico to Honduras by the Lake of Peten. Cortez, then, must have passed within twenty or thirty miles of the place now called Palenque. If it had been a living city, its fame must have reached his ears, and he would probably have turned aside from his road to subdue and plunder it. It seems, therefore, but reasonable to suppose that it was at that time desolate and in ruins, and even the memory of it lost." —STEPHENS, *Incidents of Travel in Central America*, vol. 2, chap. 20, p. 357.

* "The wall (at Copan) was of cut stone, well laid, and in a good state of preservation. We ascended by large stone steps, in some places perfect, and in others thrown down by trees which had grown up between the crevices, and reached a terrace, the form of which it was impossible to make out, from the density of the forest in which it was enveloped. Our guide cleared a way with his machete. . . . . Diverging from the base, and working our way through the thick woods, we came upon a square stone column, about fourteen feet high and three feet on each side, sculptured in very bold relief, and on all four of the sides, from the base to the top. The front was the figure of a man curiously and richly dressed, and the face, evidently a portrait, solemn, stern, and well fitted to excite terror. The back was of a different design, unlike anything we had ever seen before, and the sides were covered with hieroglyphics. . . . . With an interest perhaps stronger than we had ever felt in wandering among the ruins of Egypt, we followed our guide, who, sometimes missing his way, with a constant and vigorous use of his machete, conducted us through the thick forest, among half-buried fragments, to fourteen monuments of the same character and appearance, some with more elegant designs, and some in workmanship equal to the finest monuments of the Egyptians; one displaced from its pedestal by enormous roots; another locked in the close embrace of branches of trees, and almost lifted out of the earth; another hurled to the ground, and bound down by huge vines and creepers; and one standing, with its altar before it, in a grove of trees which grew around it, seemingly to shade and shroud it as a sacred thing; in the solemn stillness of the woods, it seemed a divinity mourning over a fallen people." —STEPHENS, *Incidents of Travel in Central America*, vol. 1, chap. 5, pp. 101–103.

B. XII. Ch. 2.

of the captains who had been sent to subdue the rebel. The first object of the expedition was, therefore, in great measure attained. Cortes, however, proceeded to visit the new settlement. Indeed, it would have been useless for him to attempt to return by the way he had come: and it was while he was staying in Truxillo, and busying himself with his colony there, that

Cortes proceeds to Truxillo. 1525.



Bad news from Mexico.

intelligence reached him of the lamentable proceedings which had taken place in Mexico during his absence.

He had come all this way to punish the rebellion of one of his captains, and had left behind him the seeds of the most deplorable sedition amongst the principal men of his chief city. In commenting upon this state of things

to his master, the Emperor, he uses a very striking expression, condemnatory of the folly and unfaithfulness which was manifested for the most part by those official persons in the colonies who were entrusted with delegated authority. "They think," he says, "that unless they make themselves ridiculous, they hardly seem to themselves to be in power"—(*literally*, "unless they commit folly, they think they do not wear the plume"*), a proverbial expression which probably came from the East, and which embodies the deep sense of misgovernment that had been felt by subject millions whose only protest against the folly and caprice of their rulers was some dire proverb of this kind. B. XII. Ch. 2.

The conduct of Cortes on this occasion gives great insight into his character. He was much urged by his followers to go at once by sea to Mexico. His presence there was greatly needed. No one was more aware of this than he was himself. Still, he hesitated to go; for it was a great peculiarity of this remarkable man, that his attention was not always directed to what seemed most pressing, but often to some duty based upon general rules of action, and a large foresight of what would in the end be politic. His conduct at the siege of Mexico, sending to succour the Indian allies when he himself had just suffered defeat, was an instance of this largeness of view. And, on the present occasion, the state of the King's affairs in Honduras, The large views of Cortes.

* "Porque ya por acá todos piensan en viéndose ausentes con un cargo, que sino hacen befa no portan penacho."—*Doc. Inéd.*, tom. 4, p. 131.

B. XII. Ch. 2.

and the opportunity for enlarging the conquest, formed a powerful attraction to keep him in the spot where he then was.* In this perplexity he sought inspiration from above; and, after solemn prayers and processions, the course of returning to Mexico seemed to him the better way.† Accordingly, arranging his affairs in Honduras, he prepared to set sail for New Spain. Thrice, however, he was compelled to return to land: once on account of a sudden calm, and also from hearing that the people he had left on shore were inclined to be seditious: a second time, because the main-yard (*la entena mayor*) snapped asunder: and the third time, because of a violent north wind which drove his vessel back after he had made fifty leagues from the coast.‡ Thinking that these were signs

Cortes sets sail for New Spain.

Is thrice driven back.

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* "Por otra parte doliame en el ánima dejar esta tierra en el estado y coyuntura que la dejaba, porque era perderse totalmente, y tengo por muy cierto que en ella V. M. ha de ser servido y que ha de ser otra Culua, porque tengo noticia de muy grandes y ricas provincias y de grandes señores en ellas de mucha manera y servicio."—*Doc. Inéd.*, tom. 4, p. 131.

† "Y estando en esta perplejidad consideré que ninguna cosa puede ser bien hecha ni guiada sino es por mano del Hacedor y Movedor de todas, y hice decir misas y hacer procesiones y otros sacrificios suplicando á Dios me encaminase en aquello de que él mas se sirviese, y despues de hecho esto por algunos dias parecióme que todavía debia posponer todas las cosas y ir á remediar aquellos daños."—*Doc. Inéd.*, tom. 4, p. 131.

‡ This would have been the time for Cortes to have consulted the stars, but his clear and pious mind abjured all such vain attempts at knowledge; and amidst his numerous retinue no such attendant as an astrologer was to be found. He believed profoundly in the immediate action of a superintending Providence, but was not likely to seek for hope or guidance from any created things. It is remarkable that the science, if it may so be called, of astrology, which had great hold upon shrewd persons, such as Louis the Eleventh, Pope Paul the Third, Catherine de Medicis, Wallenstein, the Earl of Leicester, and

that God did not approve of the course he had adopted, Cortes again sought for divine guidance;* and this time, after renewed prayers and processions, he resolved to stay where he was, and to despatch a trusty messenger to his followers in Mexico, telling them that he was alive, and informing them of what had happened to him. They had fled for refuge to the Franciscan convent in that city. On hearing this good news they took heart, sallied forth, and deposed the Factor and the Veedor.

Resolves then to stay in Honduras.

Meanwhile, the vessel in which Cortes had sent his messenger returned to him at Truxillo; and in it came a cousin of his, a Franciscan friar, named Diego Altamirano. From this monk, and from the letters which he brought, Cortes learned to the full extent the scandals and the tumults which had taken place during his absence in Mexico, and the necessity there seemed

Fresh intelligence from Mexico.

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many other historical personages, both in that age and in those which preceded and followed it, had no influence whatever upon the Spanish monarchs—Ferdinand, Charles the Fifth, and Philip the Second. Nor does astrology seem to have had any effect on the minor personages connected with the conquest of America. The hard, distinct faith of the Spaniard, and perhaps his hatred of the Moor, made him averse from wizardry, or anything that resembled it.

* "Y torné de nuevo á encomendarlo á Dios y hacer procesiones y decir misas."—*Doc. Inéd.*, tom. 4, p. 133. This account is confirmed by Bernal Diaz in the following words:—"Y desembarcado en Truxillo, mandó á Fray Juan, que se avia embarcado con Cortés, que dixesse Missas al Espíritu Santo, é hiziesse procession, y rogativas á Nuestro Señor Dios, y á Santa María Nuestra Señora la Vírgen, que le encaminasse lo que mas fuesse para su santo servicio: y pareció ser, el Espíritu Santo le alumbró de no ir por entonces aquel viaje, sino que conquistasse, y póblasse aquellas tierras."—Bernal Diaz, cap. 187.

B. XII. Ch. 2.

to be for his immediate return to the seat of his government. He had intended to return by Nicaragua and Guatemala, being well aware of the disastrous state of those provinces (of which some account will hereafter be given), and of the services which his presence might render. But the troubles of Mexico summoned him with a louder voice, and he resolved to return forthwith to that city. Accordingly, on the 25th of April, 1526, he set sail for New Spain. A violent storm drove him out of his way to Cuba, and he landed at the port of Havannah, where in a few days he learned that his party had been successful, and had deposed the Factor and the Veedor. On the 16th of May he set sail again for New Spain, landed near the town of Medellin, and made a triumphal entry into Mexico on the 19th of June, 1526, amidst the acclamations of his own people and of the natives. Cortes was much changed. Certainly at Medellin, where his presence was unexpected, and probably at Mexico, there were many persons who failed at first to recognise in his haggard, sickly countenance, imprinted with the sufferings and dangers he had undergone during his journey to Honduras, and in his subsequent voyage, the brilliant and handsome Cortes, who, only twenty months before, had marched out of the city at the head of a gallant company,—himself the chief attraction, both by the gifts of nature and of fortune, for the admiring gaze of the multitude. Cortes went direct to the Franciscan monastery to give thanks to God, and to confess his

Cortes resolves to return to Mexico, April, 1526.

Cortes returns to Mexico, June, 1526.

sins.* He stayed there six days; and when he quitted the monastery, he no longer enjoyed the supreme power in New Spain. Indeed, two days before leaving it, a messenger arrived from Medellin, informing him that certain vessels had come from Spain, and the report was that a Judge had come in them. The report proved to be true, and the Judge was the Licentiate Luis Ponce de Leon, who had been appointed by Charles the Fifth, in November, 1525, to take a *residencia* of Cortes.†

Cortes at first was not aware of the powers of Ponce de Leon; and we may fully believe him, when he declares that he was glad of the news of this Judge's arrival, as it would save him from proceeding to arraign the Factor and the Veedor, in which cause, as he was the person principally injured, he would be accused of a passionate bias in his own favour, "which is the thing," he says, "that I most abhor."‡

The day after the arrival of the messenger from Medellin, when Cortes had come from the monastery to attend a bull-fight, on the festival of San Juan, there were brought to him two despatches, one being the King's letter of creden-

June 24 (Nativity of St. John the Baptist).

* "Y allí estuve seis dias con los frailes hasta dar cuenta á Dios de mis culpas." — *Doc. Inéd.*, tom. 4, p. 147.

† See "*Carta de* CÁRLOS V. *á* HERNAN CORTÉS *avisándole que habia mandado tomarle Residencia.*"—*Doc. Inéd.*, tom. 1, p. 101

‡ "Dios sabe cuanto holgué porque tenia mucha pena de ser yo juez de esta causa, porque como injuriado y destruido por estos tiranos me parecia que cualquier cosa que en ello proveyese, podria ser juzgado por los malos á pasion, que es la cosa que yo mas aborrezco." — *Doc. Inéd.*, tom. 4, p. 147.

B. XII. Ch. 2.

tials, informing him that Ponce de Leon was appointed to take a *residencia* of him, and the other from Ponce de Leon himself, telling Cortes that he was hastening to Mexico. Cortes, though anxious and alert to receive the King's Justiciary with all reverence and submission, could hardly prepare to meet the Judge with due pomp, before he entered the city on the 2nd of July, 1526.

Ponce de Leon comes, July 2nd, 1526.

The next morning it was arranged that the wands of office should be given up. So, after hearing mass, Ponce de Leon, in presence of the people, and of the authorities, produced his powers, received the wands of the Alcaldes and the Alguazils, and immediately returned them,—all but one, which was that of Cortes, for Ponce de Leon, taking that himself, said with much courtesy, "This of my Lord Governor I must have myself."

The government is taken from Cortes.

The official persons, and Cortes among the rest, kissed the royal orders, and declared their readiness to obey them.

The dutiful obedience of Cortes to his King is rendered more manifest when we come to know* that Fray Tomas Ortiz, the head of the Dominicans who accompanied Ponce de Leon, and entered Mexico with him, went immediately to Cortes, and informed him that the Judge had authority from the Emperor to behead him and to confiscate all his goods. The friar suggested resistance,

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* "Me certificó que Luis Ponce traia provision de V. M. para me prender, é degollar é tomar todos mis bienes, é que lo sabia de muy cierta ciencia como persona que venia de la corte." —See letter addressed by Cortes to the Bishop of Osma.—*Doc. Inéd.*, tom. 1, p. 28.

but Cortes was far too wise and too faithful to take the advice.

The *residencia* of Cortes and the changes in the governing authorities of Mexico will be narrated in another place. From this time forward Mexico had something like settled government; and, when the narrative is resumed, we shall turn from the transactions of the conquerors amongst themselves to their proceedings with the conquered, and especially to the establishment of *encomiendas* in New Spain.

Meanwhile, however, from the testimony* of an eye-witness, Father Motolinia, who was greatly honoured by his contemporaries, and trusted, as we have seen, by Cortes himself, we may discern at what expense of life and suffering the new order of things was brought about in Mexico.

Testimony of Father Motolinia.

This excellent monk gives an account of what he considers to have been the ten "plagues" of New Spain. 1. The small-pox. 2. The slaughter during the conquest. 3. A great famine which took place immediately after the capture of the city. 4. The Indian and negro overseers (*la quarta plaga fue de los calpixques . . . . y negros*). 5. The excessive tributes and services demanded from the Indians. 6. The gold mines. 7. The rebuilding of Mexico. 8. The making of slaves, in order to work them in the mines. 9. The transport service for the mines. 10. The dissensions amongst the Spaniards themselves.

The "ten plagues" of New Spain.

* In the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart., of Middle Hill, is an original manuscript letter from *Fray* TORIBIO MOTOLINIA DE PAREDES, to *Don* ANTONIO PIMENTEL, *Conde de* BENAVENTE, dated "Dia de San Matia," (February 24) 1541.

B. XII. Ch. 2.

Motolinia's description of the rebuilding of Mexico is both minute and vivid. He says, that though the streets were very wide, the work was so busily carried on, that a man could scarcely make his way through them.* He describes the loss of life among the Indians from accidents caused by the demolition of old buildings, and the construction of new ones. He says, that not only had they to seek the materials for building, but also to provide the food, and pay the workmen.† He confirms the statement before made, that the work was done by sheer force of human labour; and that a stone, or beam of wood, which should have taken a hundred men only, was dragged by four hundred.‡ Such was the fervour, he adds, with which the work was carried on, that the songs and shouts of the workmen did not cease day or night during the first years of the rebuilding of Mexico.§

The rebuilding of Mexico.

When we consider these "plagues," we may fairly maintain, that a conquered people have seldom been more hardly dealt with by the diseases and the vices of their conquerors. It was also a surplusage of misery that the conquered territory should be rich in mines, and that the conquerors should have brought with them slaves of another race.

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* "Apenas podia hombre romper por algunas calles y calçadas, aunque son muy anchas." — *Carta de Fray* MOTOLINIA. MS.

† "A su costa buscan los materiales, y pagan los pedreros y carpinteros, y si ellos mesmos no traen que comer, ayunan."— *Ut supra.*

‡ "La piedra ó viga que avia menester çien ombres trayan la quatrocientos."—*Ut supra.*

§ "Tienen de costumbre de yr cantando y dando vozes, y los cantos y vozes apenas çessavan de noche ni de dia por el gran hervor que trayan en la hedificacion del pueblo los primeros años."—*Ut supra.*

BOOK XIII.

NICARAGUA.

CHAPTER I.

GIL GONÇALEZ DAVILA DISCOVERS NICARAGUA — FRANCISCO HERNANDEZ SENT BY PEDRARIAS TO SETTLE THERE — HE FOUNDS LEON AND GRANADA — DRIVES OUT GIL GONÇALEZ — HERNANDEZ BEHEADED BY PEDRARIAS — DEATH OF PEDRARIAS.

CHAPTER I.

GIL GONÇALEZ DAVILA DISCOVERS NICARAGUA — FRANCISCO HERNANDEZ SENT BY PEDRARIAS TO SETTLE THERE—HE FOUNDS LEON AND GRANADA —DRIVES OUT GIL GONÇALEZ—HERNANDEZ BEHEADED BY PEDRARIAS—DEATH OF PEDRARIAS.

NICARAGUA was the battle-field of so many pretensions; it illustrates so completely the vices and errors of the Spanish Government, and of the Spanish adventurers; its history is so much interwoven with that of Guatemala, Honduras, and even of New Spain;—that some attempt must be made to bring before the reader, however briefly, the principal events connected with its discovery and colonization.

Division of New World between the Spaniards and the Portuguese. 1493.

For this purpose we must revert to the famous Bull of Pope Alexander the Sixth, which divided between the Portuguese and Castillian monarchs the World about to be discovered, laying down an imaginary line to the west of the Azores as the boundary.

Now, the peculiar delusion which at this early period haunted the monarchs of Spain and their statesmen was, that the most desirable enterprize which maritime daring could accomplish for their nation, would be, by going westwards, to arrive at the Spice Islands. They would then rival or

B. XIII. Ch. 1.

eclipse the Portuguese, without in the least violating the contract made between the two countries under the Pope's auspices.* The land of Kublai

* Gaspar Contarini, one of the admirable ambassadors of whom Venice in the middle ages could boast so many, whose *Relazioni* should be a text-book for the diplomatic service, in an account of his mission to the Court of Charles the Fifth, which he read to the Senate on the 16th of November, 1525, makes the following statement: —"Ora questo Fernando Cortes è per procedere più oltre, e già verso il mezzogiorno aveva ritrovato circa dugento miglia lontano dal Jucatan il mare meridionale, e molte altre città, e ha trovato un' acqua amplissima dolce, fra la quale e questo mare meridionale è un territorio, non più di due miglia largo, e spera eziandio di trovare che quest' acqua dolce pervenga anche prossima a quest' altro mare settentrionale, il che quando si ritrovasse, credono che per quella via con grande facilità potriano navigare all' isole Molucche, ed altri luoghi dell' Indie Orientali per torre le spezie senza intricarsi con li Portoghesi."— *Relazione di* Gasparo Contarini *Ritornato Ambasciatore da Carlo V., letta in Senato a dì* 16 *Novembre*, 1525. *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato.* Raccolte, annotate ed edite da Eugenio Albèri, Serie 1ª, vol. 2, p. 53. Firenze, 1840.

The above passage shows the effect that was produced in the Court of Spain by that part of the narrative which Cortes had given of his Honduras journey to the Emperor, respecting a possible route to the Pacific by the Golfo Dulce.

The whole account which Contarini gives of the discoveries in the Indies is wonderfully accurate, and his testimony with regard to the beauty of the workmanship of the golden vases, the mirrors, and the ornaments of feathers, which had come from Mexico, is worth recording, for a refined Venetian of that day must have been one of the best judges of works of art.—"Da questo Jucatan nella terra propinqua, poco più all' occidente, sbarcò Fernando Cortes già cinque anni, e penetrò dentro nella terra, dove trovò molti popoli, e molte città, fra le quali una provincia detta Tolteche (*he ought to have said Tlascala*), la quale era inimicissima al re di Tenochtitlan (l'antico nome della città di Messico), di dove con molte guerre, e molte lusinghe false si è fatto signore. Questa città è meravigliosa e di grandezza e di sito e di artifizj, posta in mezzo un lago di acqua salsa, il quale circonda circa dugento miglia, e da un capo si congiunge con un altro lago d'acqua dolce; non è però molto profondo, e l'acqua cresce e cala ogni giorno due volte come fa qui a Venezia. Dalla terra alla città sono alcune strade fondate nel lago. Li abitanti sono idolatri, come tutti gli altri di quei paesi, mangiano uomini, ma non

Khan was not more attractive to Columbus than the Spice Islands to the Spanish Sovereigns. Often, neglecting the immense advantages which lay at their feet in the magnificent countries their subjects had already discovered, they put in jeopardy their fairest possessions to pursue this fatal phantom. For fatal it preeminently was; and any one minutely versed in the early records of the New World knows, when he sees the word Spice Islands, that something very disastrous is about to be narrated.

Search after a westward route to the Spice Islands.

The discovery of Nicaragua follows closely upon the death of Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, and was intimately connected with that lamentable proceeding. Andres Niño, a bold pilot who was well acquainted with the coast of Darien, and had been employed there, proceeded to the Court of Spain. He proposed an expedition to the Spice Islands, which met with royal approval, and with that of the Bishop of Burgos. At the head of the expedition was placed Gil Gonçalez Davila, the Contador of Hispaniola, formerly attached to the household of the Bishop of Burgos. These explorers were to make use of the

Andres Niño proposes an expedition to the Spice Islands.

Gil Gonçalez Davila appointed commander of it.

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tutti; solo mangiano li inimici che prendono in battaglia. Sacrificano eziandio uomini alli loro idoli. Sono poi industriosi in lavorare; *e io ho veduto alcuni vasi d' oro, ed altri venuti di là, bellissimi e molto ben lavorati. Nè hanno ferro, ma adoprano alcune pietre in luogo di ferro. Ho veduto eziandio specchi fatti di pietra. Lavorano poi lavori di penne di uccelli, miracolosi. Certamente non ho veduto in altre parti alcun ricamo, ne altro lavoro tanto sottile, come sono alcuni di questi di penne, li quali hanno un' altra vaghezza, perocchè paiono di diversi colori, secondo che hanno la luce, come vediamo farsi nel collo d'un colombo.*"—Ut supra, pp. 52-3.

B. XIII. Ch. I.

ships which had been constructed with incredible toil by Vasco Nuñez; and they relied upon the friendship of Lope de Sosa, who was to go out at the same time as Governor of Darien, and to take a *residencia* of Pedrarias de Avila. Meanwhile, as might have been expected, Pedrarias had made use of these vessels for his own purposes, and had sent the Licenciate Espinosa on a voyage of discovery in the Sea of the South, who had proceeded as far as Cape Blanco, which is situated in what is now the Republic of Costa Rica.

Pedrarias had sent Espinosa.

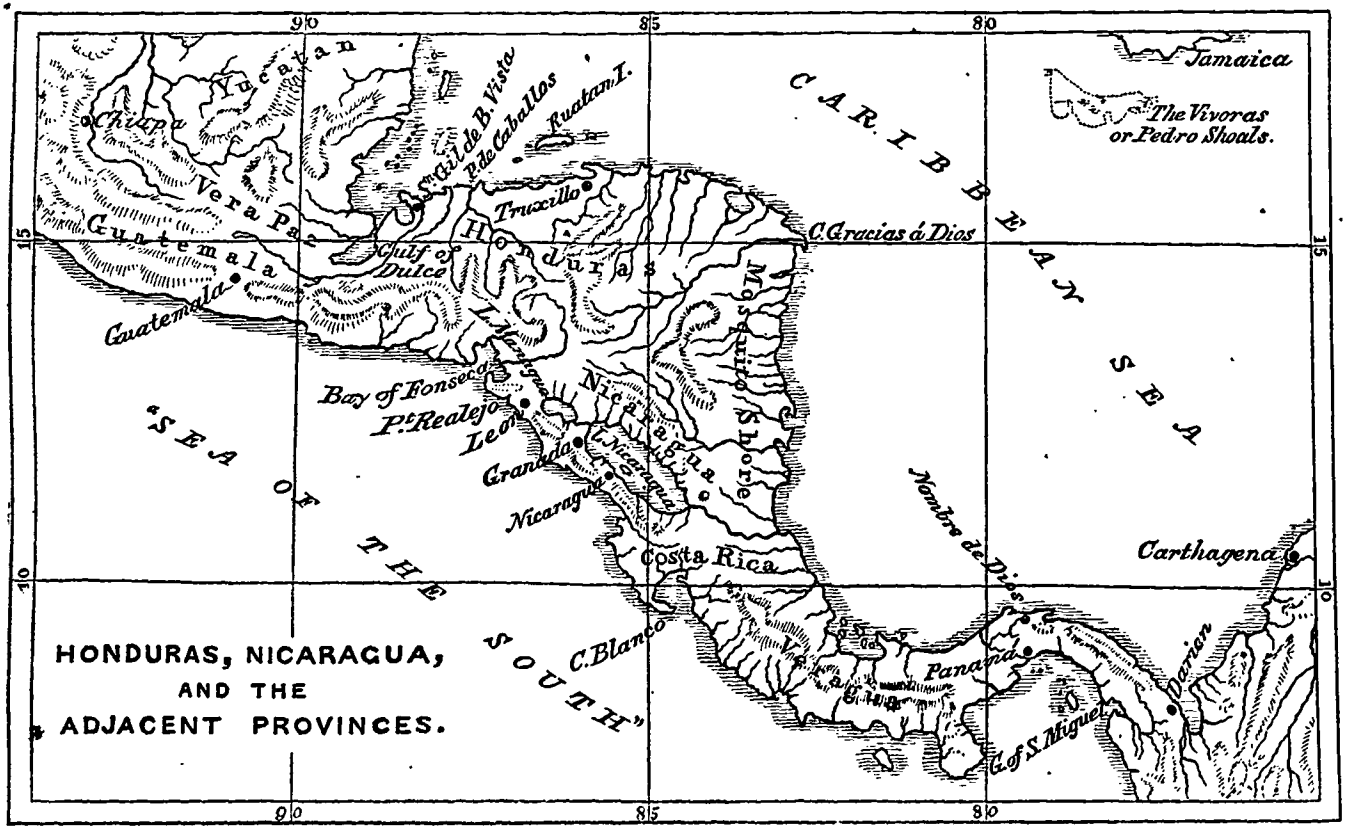
Lope de Sosa dies. 1518.

Lope de Sosa arrived at Darien, but died almost immediately after his arrival, indeed before he landed, accomplishing less even than Ponce de Leon afterwards did, when he went to New Spain to take a *residencia* of Cortes. Gil Gonçalez, therefore, found himself with an enemy instead of a friend in the Governor of Darien. He and Andres Niño, however, persevered in their enterprize, and, in January 1522, set sail from the Island of Tezaregui, in the Gulf of San Miguel. Their notions of geography must have been somewhat limited and incorrect, if they were still bent on discovering the Spice Islands, for they pursued their way to the north-west instead of the south-west. The result, however, was, that they discovered the whole coast of Nicaragua as far as the Bay of Fonseca, which Gil Gonçalez must have named after his patron, the Bishop of Burgos. They did not content themselves with merely discovering the coast, but made considerable excursions into the interior. There Gil Gonçalez found a great Cacique called Nicaragua, whose *pueblo* was

Gil Gonçalez and Andres Niño set sail, Jan. 1522.

They discover Nicaragua.

The Cacique Nicaragua.



HONDURAS, NICARAGUA, AND THE ADJACENT PROVINCES.

B. XIII. Ch. 1.

situated three leagues from the sea-shore, close to the lake which now bears his name.

The Cacique's questions upon natural phenomena.

The Cacique was a man of much intelligence. He put to the strangers many questions of childish simplicity, but yet with childish daringness of thought. He inquired if they had heard of any great deluge, and asked whether there would be another. He wished to know when the sun and the moon would lose their brightness and forsake their appointed courses. He desired to be informed as to the causes of darkness and of cold; and was inclined to blame the nature of things because it was not always bright and warm.*

His inquiries about the Pope and the Emperor.

He further wished to know what became of the souls of men who lived so short a time in the body, and yet were immortal. Descending from these great questions to discuss the information which the Spaniards brought him about their affairs, he inquired whether the Pope was subject to death, and whether the Cacique of Castille, of whom they spoke so much, was mortal. He concluded by asking the pertinent question, why it was that so few men, as they were, sought so much gold. Gil Gonçalez and his companions were astonished to hear a semi-naked "barbarian" interrogate them in this fashion; and never, it was said, had an Indian been found who talked in this way with the Spaniards.†

* "Preguntó la causa de la escuridad de las noches, y del frio, tachando la naturaleza, que no hazia siempre claro, y calor, pues era mejor."—HERRERA, *Hist. de las Indias*, dec. 3, lib. 4, cap. 5.

† "Y jamas se halló, que Indio tal hablasse con Castellanos."—HERRERA, *Hist. de las Indias*, dec. 3, lib. 4, cap. 5.

It will be needless to recount in detail the rest of Gil Gonçalez's discoveries. Suffice it to say, that they were sufficient to entitle him fairly to the claim of being the discoverer of Nicaragua.

Origin of the Nicaraguans.

The Nicaraguans, it appears, were of Mexican origin. They had been driven southwards by a great drought;* and if so, they had certainly fled to a country preeminently abounding in the element they then needed. But this tradition is not the only ground for ascribing to them, or at least to one tribe amongst them, an affinity with the Mexicans. The language, and the mode of writing were in this case similar; and, though the religions† of the two nations were not wholly alike, there was sufficient similarity to render far from improbable, if not to establish, the notion of a common origin.‡

The Nicaraguans were in that state of civilization which gives great promise of the gradual formation of an important empire. The edifices were not so grand as those of the Mexicans, but there was no want of skill in their buildings, or of polity in their laws. Still, they were in that

* "Dizen que huvo en los tiempos antiguos, en nueva España una gran seca, por lo qual se fueron por aquella mar Austral, á poblar á Nicaragua." —Herrera, *Hist. de las Indias*, dec. 3, lib. 4, cap. 7.

† One curious fact concerning their religion is noted—that the Nicaraguan priests who heard confessions were married.—"No se casan los Sacerdotes, sino los que oyen pecados agenos."—Herrera, *Hist. de las Indias*, dec. 3, lib. 4, cap. 7.

‡ "Tenian pintadas sus leyes, y ritos, con gran semejança de los Mexicanos; y esto hazen solos los Chorotogas, y no todos los de Nicaragua: y tambien son diferentes en los sacrificios."—Herrera, *Hist. de las Indias*, dec. 3, lib. 4, cap. 7.

B. XIII. Ch. 1.

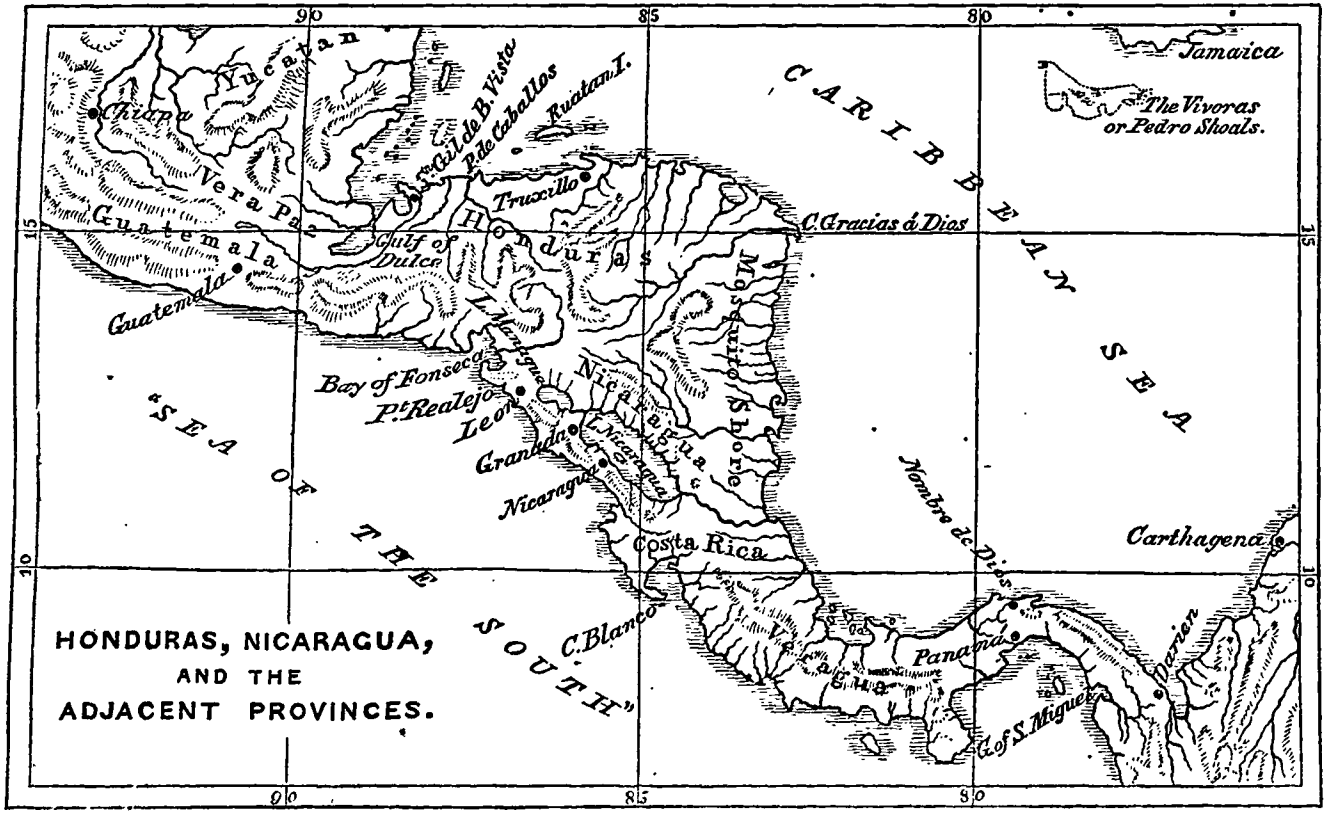
state of comparatively low intelligence when men and women think they can improve the work of God, their own countenances, by piercing, and otherwise maltreating, their noses, lips, and ears.*

Gil Gonçalez returns to Panamá, June 25, 1523.

Gil Gonçalez returned to Panamá on the 25th of June 1523, with a large quantity of gold, and with the conviction that he had made a great discovery. He had also baptized no less than thirty thousand of the natives. What knowledge, however, of Christianity he had left amongst them may be imagined from the strange kind of soldierly theology which most of these captains displayed when they took upon them to commence the conversion of the natives. He proceeded, not without molestation from Pedrarias, to Hispaniola, whence, after communicating with the Emperor, and begging for the government of the lands he had discovered, he returned to Honduras.

The object of Gil Gonçalez in going to Honduras was to find a way to Nicaragua which he might take without any hindrance from Pedrarias at Panamá. With the vessels he had brought from Hispaniola, Gil Gonçalez endeavoured to

* "Los pueblos de Nicaragua no eran grandes, como avia muchos, el edificio era con policia: las casas de los señores eran diferentes de las otras: en los lugares de comun, eran todas las casas yguales: los palacios, y templos tenian grandes plaças, cercadas de las casas de los nobles, y en medio tenian una casa de plateros, que labravan oro, y vaciavan maravillosamente. En algunas islas y rios, se vieron casas sobre árboles: los hombres son de buena estatura, mas blancos que loros; las cabeças á tolondrones, con un oyo en medio, por hermosura, y por assiento, y para carga: rapávanse la mitad adelante, y los valientes toda, salvo la coronilla: agujerávanse las narizes, labios, y orejas, y vestian casi como Mexicanos, y peynávanse el cabello."—Herrera, *Hist. de las Indias*, dec. 3, lib. 4, cap. 7.



HONDURAS, NICARAGUA,
AND THE
ADJACENT PROVINCES.

B. XIII. Ch. I.

make the Puerto de Caballos, which received its name from an accident that happened to him on this occasion. A storm came on when he was near that port; he was obliged to throw overboard some of his horses (*caballos*); and was driven back to the Golfo Dulce, where he landed, and founded the town of San Gil de Buenavista.

Pedrarias sends De Córdova to occupy Nicaragua. 1524.

Meanwhile, Pedrarias, who held that the newly-discovered country belonged to him, by reason of Espinosa's small discovery, sent his principal Captain, Francisco Hernandez de Córdova, with several other subordinate officers, to occupy Nicaragua and establish themselves therein. Francisco Hernandez founded the towns of Brusselas, Granada, and Leon. One of his lieutenants encountered Gil Gonçalez (who had quitted San Gil and entered the province of Nicaragua by way of Honduras), and was defeated by him; but Gil Gonçalez ultimately retreated before the superior force of Francisco Hernandez, and proceeding to the settlement in Honduras which Christoval de Olid had formed by the orders of Cortes, was treated by Olid as an enemy, and detained as a prisoner.

De Córdova founds Brusselas, Granada, and Leon. 1524.

Gil Gonçalez retreats to Honduras: is made prisoner by Olid. 1524.

Francisco Hernandez, however, fared worse than the man he had driven out of his province; and his fate will curiously exemplify the confusion which beset the affairs of Nicaragua. As if that unhappy province were not sufficiently vexed by contending authorities and complicated government, the *Audiencia* of Hispaniola must now appear upon the scene. These auditors were, theoretically, the most powerful body in the New

World. They acted in concert with the Admiral, Don Diego Columbus, the son of the great discoverer, and were by no means inclined to be inert in the general government of the Indies. Accordingly, when they heard of the rebellion of Olid, and of the entry into Nicaragua of Francisco Hernandez, they felt it their duty to take cognizance of these disturbances to the general weal of the Indies, and they sent a certain *Bachiller* of Law, named Pedro Moreno, to Honduras. He communicated with Francisco Hernandez, and appears to have suggested to that officer that he should hold his command directly from the *Audiencia* of Hispaniola. Such an opportunity of governing on his own account, instead of being a mere subordinate of Pedrarias, was probably too great a temptation for the fidelity of Hernandez to resist. He sent a party of men to carry his reply to Pedro Moreno, and it can scarcely be doubted that in that reply Hernandez went as far as to commence negociations with the *Bachiller* respecting the formation of an independent government. These men, to their astonishment, met with a division of the forces of Cortes (who had just completed his Honduras journey, and was at Truxillo), and were conducted to his presence. He appears to have received them favourably. Pedro Moreno had returned to Hispaniola, intending to come back with more troops.

The *Audiencia* of Hispaniola interfere.

Meanwhile, some of the captains under Hernandez remained true to their master Pedrarias, and succeeded in quitting Nicaragua and reaching Panamá. Their account of the conduct

B. XIII. Ch. I.

of Hernandez must have infuriated the ancient Governor. Old as he was, he had always a certain vigour when there was anything severe or decisive to be done. He proceeded at once into Nicaragua, and held a court martial on his unfortunate lieutenant, who made no attempt to escape, and who was forthwith convicted and beheaded.

De Córdova beheaded. 1526.

The fate of Francisco Hernandez de Córdova is a little like that of Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, and the same argument was used by the friends of both these commanders to substantiate their innocence. Why, it was asked, if they were guilty, should they have so confidingly placed themselves in the power of this fierce and arbitrary man?

But if the foregoing account be true, it would be difficult to maintain that Francisco Hernandez had preserved his fidelity. It must, however, be admitted that for De Córdova to listen to the overtures from the *Audiencia* of Hispaniola, which were in some measure commands, was a very different thing from setting up an independent government for himself, without any reference to regal or vice-regal authority.

Nothing could have been more ill-advised on the part of the Spanish Government than their suffering a mere accident, like the death of Lope de Sosa, to prevent them from carrying out their original intentions of superseding a Governor, competent only to acts of cruelty, like Pedrarias. From 1519, however, to the year 1526, Pedrarias remained in power, at which time Pedro de los Rios arrived to supersede him, and to take the usual *residencia*.

Pedro de Los Rios supersedes Pedrarias, July, 1526.

Pedro de los Rios was naturally induced by Pedrarias to consider Nicaragua as part of the Government of Darien, and to go thither himself in order to secure its occupation. But the unhappy province was not so easily to be disposed of. A new pretender, also with some show of authority from head-quarters, was already in the field, and had secured a firm hold upon the province. This was no other than the recently-appointed Governor of the neighbouring state of Honduras, Diego Lopez de Salcedo, a man of some importance, as he was the nephew of the celebrated Ovando. He ordered Pedro de los Rios to quit the province directly, and the Governor of Darien was obliged to yield at once to superior force.

The Governor of Honduras lays claim to Nicaragua.

The Court of Spain must now have been informed of these things, and the Ministers ordered that the Governor of Darien should keep to his limits of Darien, and the Governor of Honduras to his limits of Honduras, while they made Nicaragua into a separate government, conferring it, however, on one of the worst persons who could have been chosen for the office—namely, Pedrarias. The New World, therefore, was not to be freed from the presence of this implacable old man. It was in 1527 that he was appointed Governor of Nicaragua (Gil Gonçalez had died), and he remained in power at Nicaragua until the day of his death, which occurred at Leon in the year 1530.

Pedrarias appointed Governor of Nicaragua 1527. Dies in 1530.

The foregoing narrative sufficiently describes the dire confusion which prevailed in Nicaragua amongst the Spanish authorities—a confusion

B. XIII. Ch. I.

Sufferings of the Nicaraguans.

that was sure to have its counterpart in burnings, massacres, and tortures amongst the conquered people.* They paid the penalty for every error committed at the Court of Spain, for every movement prompted by avarice, envy, or discord, which took place amongst the Spanish captains, each of whom had some show of authority from head-quarters, and whose marchings, counter-marchings, and battles were marked upon the broad map of that fertile province, unhappily well suited to the movements of cavalry, in huge streaks of blood and devastation.

They consult their idols.

It was in vain that the unhappy Indians of Nicaragua consulted their idols, and prayed for a response to the question, how they were to get rid of these strangers. The discerning oracles replied that if they were to heap the sea upon these Spaniards, they would certainly drown; but then, to do that, it would be necessary for the Nicaraguans to drown themselves,—whereupon, they did not question their oracles any further in this matter.†

The evils attending the occupation of Nicaragua seem at first sight to accuse the Spanish Government loudly of want of wisdom in not

* "Con la mudança de tantos governadores, y diferencias pasadas entre los capitanes Castellanos de Nicaragua, estavan los Indios muy discontentos, porque se les guardava poca justicia, y avia dos años que no dormian con sus mugeres, porque no pariessen esclavos para los Castellanos." — HERRERA, *Hist. de las Indias*, d. 4, l. 3, c. 2.

† "Preguntaron á los ydolos, que como echarian de sí aquellos estrangeros; respondieron: que les hecharian la mar encima que los ahogasse, pero que tambien se avian de ahogar ellos, y assí no trataron mas desta demanda." —HERRERA, *Hist. de las Indias*, dec. 4, lib. 3, cap. 2.

foreseeing and providing against the confusion which must follow from an intermingling of delegated authorities. Did the Government suppose that human nature in the colonies was different from human nature at home? Did they not foresee that questions of boundary, even amongst well-disposed governors of contiguous provinces, would alone be sure to lead to the direst disputes? Again, did they not anticipate that these roving expeditions would be likely to travel out of all bounds of authority, unless their duties and responsibilities were defined with the strictest accuracy? If this one law had been laid down—that no governor should be an explorer on his own account,—it would have been an incalculable benefit to the Indies.

Blame attaching to the Spanish Government.

To these questions it must be replied that, though there may be some foundation for severe comment, it is always to be recollected that the events in the Indies were too extensive, sudden, and complicated for any government to deal with—certainly for any government which did not give its whole attention to its colonies. The Spanish Court seldom heard of things at the right moment. Something had been done in the interim, which often rendered the orders they sent out nugatory or mischievous. It was a state of affairs in which, except at the very first, the monarchs and statesmen who had to deal with it were never, to use an expressive modern phrase, "masters of the situation."

Much excuse for them.

Moreover, the truth is, that, though at first sight it may appear that there were too many

B. XIII. Ch. I.

king's officers in the Indies, there were in reality far too few. A special service for the Indies ought instantly to have been organized; and it may be taken for a fact, that all the governments of Europe could not at that day have furnished a sufficient number of governing persons to take the rule of the millions of subjugated Indians suddenly deprived of the lords and masters who, in some fashion or other, had guided and governed them for generations. Never, not even in the worst times of the Roman Empire, were men left more masterless. There were innumerable sheep: there were many wolves: and there were very few shepherds.

The Indians left masterless.

The last historical fact mentioned, the death of Pedrarias, cannot be passed by without comment. For sixteen years this old man had been a principal figure in the Indies. By the mischief he had done (for history is obliged to take note of men according to the weight of their deeds, whether for good or evil), he played a part not much inferior in magnitude to that of men who have acquired large and just renown, such as Cortes, Vasco Nuñez, or Pizarro. Pedrarias had been a page of John the Second of Castille, Queen Isabella's father, who died in 1454, which shows that Pedrarias could not have been far from ninety when he died. "Considering his decrepitude," says Oviedo, "his errors would have some excuse, if they had not been so cruel."*

The great age of Pedrarias.

To have such testimony as that of Oviedo

* "É assí haçiéndole decrépito avrán alguna excusa sus errores, si no fueran tan crueles."—Oviedo, *Hist. Gen. y Nat. de Indias*, lib. 29, cap. 34.

coming in to confirm Las Casas is most valuable. No two men could have been more different. Even in the evidence that Oviedo gives of the cruelty of Pedrarias, the different character and disposition of this author from Las Casas are strikingly manifest. Las Casas would have indulged in the most fervid declamation; and the first thought he would have had, after narrating the death of Pedrarias, would have been to expose and dilate upon the wonderful mischief that this Governor had done to the Indians in his lifetime.

Testimony of Oviedo as to the cruelty of Pedrarias.

But OVIEDO is led to the same consideration in the most quaint, circuitous, and hap-hazard manner. He mentions that Pedrarias was buried in a church at Leon—the same church where Francisco Hernandez had been buried, who, "as many maintain," had been unjustly beheaded by the orders of Pedrarias,—so that, as OVIEDO remarks, it would be from the same *pueblo* that they would both go to the other life, if there Hernandez had to ask Pedrarias for an account of his head.* But then OVIEDO reflects that it takes no longer time to go to Heaven, or to Hell, or to Purgatory, from Rome, or from Jerusalem, than from the Indies; and thereupon he begins to enumerate the various souls who had gone from the Indies, and who might have some claim to make upon Pedrarias. After naming two or three Spaniards—amongst them Vasco

* "Si allá le ha de pedir cuenta de su cabeça."—OVIEDO, *Hist. Gen. y Nat. de Indias.*

B. XIII. Ch. I.

Nuñez,—the historian bethinks him that the "two million" Indians, whose death or destruction, in one way or another, Pedrarias had caused in his seventeen years of government, would not take a longer time to reach Heaven or Hell or Purgatory than if they had to come from Rome or from Jerusalem.*

Oviedo denounces Pedrarias and other King's Officers.

Finally, the historian bursts out into an indignant denunciation of the Governor, the Bishop, the King's Officers, and the Alcalde Mayor† (all of them men whom he had known in life), and, after reproaching them with the slaying and the burning and the throwing to wild dogs of so many Indians, which enormities they had connived at for the sake of gain, he exclaims, "There you all are (in a future state), where you see at what rate bread is sold in the market-place (a familiar expression for 'how things really are'), and they have to say to you, 'Ah! brother, how much money did you get?' and you compare the riches you have acquired with the repose you enjoy now, since here it has not prolonged your lives,

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* "Ni han tenido mas largas jornadas que caminar dos millones de indios que desde el año de mill é quinientos y catorçe que llegó Pedrarías á la Tierra-Firme hasta quél murió, en espaçio de diez y seys años é algunos meses, son muertos en aquellas tierras, sin que se les diesse á entender aquel requirimiento quel Rey Cathólico les mandó haçer antes de les romper la guerra. É no creo que me alargo en la suma de los dos millones que he dicho, si sé cuentan, sin los muertos, los indios que se sacaron de aquella gobernaçion de Castilla del Oro é de la de Nicaragua en el tiempo que he dicho, para los llevar por esclavos á otras partes."—OVIEDO, *Hist. Gen. y Nat. de Indias*, lib. 29, cap. 34.

† These were the official men of Darien—not of Nicaragua. The Bishop was Bishop Quevedo, who behaved so rudely to Las Casas.—See *ante*, vol. 2, p. 65.

nor will it exempt you from eternal death, unless God, in his mercy, pardons you your sins and such ill-gotten gains."*

In such an incidental manner as the foregoing we gain the valuable testimony of the brother historian and rival colonist of Las Casas. The brief account just given of Nicaragua, joined to the preceding history of Darien, shows how both these historians may be acquitted of any exaggeration, and, deeply condemnatory though it be of Pedrarias and his captains, proves that they were not the only culprits, but that the Spanish Government must take its share of blame for the evils which flowed from whatever was unsystematic or inadvertent in its administration of the Indies.

Before quitting the subject of Nicaragua, it may be well to enumerate some peculiarities of that region, which, amidst the bewildering recital of political events, would hardly have met with the requisite attention.

If Pedrarias did not benefit the natives of Nicaragua much, he at least did one thing which

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* ". . . . en pago de la disimulaçion que tuvistes con sus errores, matando indios, é assando á otros, é haçiendo comer á canes los unos, é atormentando á muchos, é usando de innumerables adulterios con mugeres infieles; pues lo supistes é no lo castigastes, allá estays todos, donde verés á cómo se vende el pan en la plaça, é deçiros han: ¡Ah fray! quántos dineros! . . . Y cotejarés las haçiendas que adquiristes, con el reposo que allá hallastes; pues acá no os alargaron la vida ni allá os excusarán la muerte eterna, si Dios por su misericordia no os perdona vuestros peccados é tales ganançias." — OVIEDO, *Hist. Gen. y Nat. de Indias*, lib. 29, cap. 34.

B. XIII. Ch. I.

may be singularly serviceable to a right understanding of the history and religion of that province. All his rivals who had preceded him had signalized themselves in baptizing Indians, — Gil Gonçalez de Avila so many thousand; Francisco Hernandez de Cordova so many thousand; Diego Lopez de Salcedo so many thousand. And, no doubt, their respective partizans had spoken much of these accessions to Christianity. But Pedrarias, who knew what a farce this conversion must be, instituted a commission of inquiry into it, sending a monk of the Order of Mercy, named Francisco de Bobadilla, with interpreters, to examine several of the so-called Christians. As might be expected, they were found to be completely ignorant of the rudiments of Christianity; but the examination, which is given in full, or from which at least large extracts are made,* affords some very interesting particulars as to the religion of the natives themselves, and is, perhaps, the most valuable body of evidence on that subject which has been given to the world in reference to any aboriginal nation of America.

Pedrarias sends a commission to enquire into the previous conversions of the natives.

All the witnesses agree in the names of the gods who had created the world, who were Tamagastad and Cipattoval.

Answers to the questions of Father Bobadilla.

There is also a perfect accordance as to there having been a great deluge and a new creation.

The deluge.

The witnesses, moreover, agree, for the most part, in the immortality of the soul, and in the belief that good men go to Heaven, and the bad

Immortality of the soul.

* See OVIEDO, lib. 42, cap. 2.

beneath the Earth. But goodness seems to have been chiefly confined to warriors. B. XIII. Ch. I.

One great peculiarity which may be traced throughout a large portion of the New World, is the existence of the practice of confession. In Nicaragua, confession was clearly an established custom, though, if this evidence be credited, and if it applies to the whole of the province, the things to be confessed were chiefly sins against the Gods,* and the Confession, contrary to the Confession.

* "F. Quando alguno de vosotros haçe alguna cosa mal hecha ¿ decíslo á los padres de vuestros templos, ó pedís perdon á vuestros teotes, arrepintiéndoos é pessándoos dello?

"Y. Deçímoslo á los viejos mas antiguos é no á los padres; é como lo avemos dicho, andamos descansados é con plaçer de se lo aver dicho, como si no lo oviessemos hecho. É los viejos nos diçen: 'Anda: yos é no lo hagays otra vez.' É haçémoslo assí, porque lo tenemos por bueno, é porque no nos muramos é nos venga otro mal, é porque pensamos que quedamos libres de lo que hiçimos.

"F. ¿ Esso deçísselo público ó en secreto á los viejos, é á quántos viejos se lo deçís?

"Y. Á uno solo y en secreto é no delante de nadie, y estando en pié, y este viejo no lo puede descubrir á nadie, sino tenerlo secreto en su coraçon.

"F. ¿ Qué pecados é males son essos que le deçís á esse viejo?

"Y. Deçímosle quando avemos quebrado aquellas fiestas que tenemos é no las avemos guardado, ó si deçimos mal de nuestros dioses, quando no llueve, é si deçimos que no son buenos; é los viejos nos echan pena para el templo.

"F. ¿ Qué pena os echan, ó cómo la cumplís?

"Y. Mándanos que llevemos leña, con que se alumbre el templo ó que le barramos, é cumplimos essa penitençia sin falta alguna.

"F. ¿ Essa confession haçéysla delante de qualquiera viejo?

"Y. No, sino á uno que está diputado para esto é trae por señal al cuello una calabaça; é muerto aquel, nos juntamos á cabildo é hacemos otro, el que nos paresçe mas bueno, é assí van suçediéndole, y es mucha dignidad entre nosotros tal offiçio. Y este viejo no ha de ser hombre casado, ni está en el templo ni en casa de oraçion alguna, sino en su casa propria."—Oviedo, *Hist. Gen. y Nat. de Indias*, lib. 42, cap. 3.

B. XIII. Ch. I.

statement before made on the authority of HERRERA, was addressed not to the priests, but to ancient men appointed for the purpose, who were not to be married.

Cannibalism.

It is sad to find from this examination that the practice of cannibalism undoubtedly existed amongst the Nicaraguans; and the answer to the priest's question on this head makes no excuse for the practice, not giving any reply as to why it was done, but entering minutely into details of how it was done.*

Funeral rites.

The notion of fame entertained by the Nicaraguans does not appear to have been such as would tempt men to great deeds. Upon one of the witnesses being asked what was the meaning of their breaking certain images over their burial-places, the Indian replied, "That our memory may remain for twenty or thirty days, and after that it perishes in these parts."†

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* "F. Esta carne humana que comés ¿cómo lo haçés; si es á falta de manjares, ó por qué?

"Y. Como se haçe es que se corta la cabeça al que ha de morir, é háçesele el cuerpo pequeños pedaços, é aquellos échanse á coçer en ollas grandes, é allí échase sal é axi é lo ques menester para guisarlo. Despues de guisado, traen çebollos de mahiz, é con mucha alegría golosa siéntanse los caçiques en sus duhos, é comen de aquella carne, é beben maçamorra é cacao. É la cabeça no la cuesçen ni assan ni comen; pero pónese en unos palos que estan fronteros de los oratorios é templos. Y esta es la çerimonia que tenemos en comer de aquesta carne, la qual nos sabe como de pavos ó puerco ó de xulo (*id est*, de aquellos sus perros) ques presçioso manjar entre nosotros; y este manjar de la carne humana es muy presçiado."—OVIEDO, *Hist. Gen. y Nat. de Indias*, lib. 42, cap. 3.

† "F. ¿Por qué quebrays unas figuras, que rompeys sobre las sepolturas?

"Y. Porque haya memoria de nosotros hasta veynte ó treynta dias: é despues se pierde por ahí aquello."—OVIEDO, *Hist. Gen. y Nat. de Indias*, lib. 42, cap. 2.

There is a considerable similarity in the laws and practices of semi-civilized men, all over the world, and to a person versed in such subjects it often seems as if he were reading the same story, whether it is one of Indians in North or South America, of negroes in Africa, or of the inhabitants of the West India Islands. But we find in Nicaragua a practice with respect to marriage, that is perhaps unique in the annals of the world.

A strange mode of marriage amongst the Nicaraguans.

A young Nicaraguan beauty would have many favoured lovers; but after a time, bethinking her that it would be well to marry and settle, she would ask her father to give her a portion of land near to where he lived. When he had appointed what land she should have, she would call her lovers together, and tell them that she wished to marry, and to take one of them as her husband; that she did not possess a house; but that she desired that they would build her one on the land which her father had given her. The prudent damsel did not hesitate to enter into details as to the kind of house she wished to have built, and would add, that, if they loved her well, the house would be built by such a day, giving them a month or six weeks to complete it in.*

* "Diçe á sus rufianes ó enamorados (estando todos juntos) quella se quiere casar é tomar á uno dellos por marido, é que no tiene casa é quiere que se la hagan en aquel lugar señalado: é da la traça de cómo ha de ser, é que si bien la quieren, para tal dia ha de estar hecha, ques de allí á treynta ó quarenta dias."—OVIEDO, *Hist. Gen. y Nat. de Indias*, lib. 42, cap. 12.

B. XIII. Ch. I.

The lady sets her lovers to work to build and furnish a house.

To one she would give the charge of furnishing the wood-work; to another, to find the canes which were to form the walls; to another, to provide the cordage; to another, to gather the straw for the roof; to another, to procure the dried fish to stock the house; to another, to get deer and pigs for her; to another, to collect maize. The work was usually put in hand with the utmost promptitude, nor was the least thing dispensed with that she had asked for. On the contrary, anxious to show their zeal to the lady of their affections, they sometimes brought double of what had been demanded. Their friends and relations aided them, for it was always thought a great honour to be the successful competitor, and that it would reflect honour upon his kindred.

We may easily imagine what efforts were made by the contending parties to promote their several suits, how her relatives were honoured and flattered, how her companions were waylaid, and what tales were conveyed to her ears of the dangers and labours that were undertaken for her sake. The pomp of courtship could never have been brought so distinctly before the eyes of the world as in the pleasant province of Nicaragua.

At last the house was ready. The provisions and the furniture were put in it, and the hearts of the over-worked competitors beat rapidly as the fortunate or the fatal moment approached.

A solemn feast was held in the new house. When supper was concluded, the damsel rose, and made a short, but gracious speech. She first thanked them all heartily for the labour they had undergone on her behalf. She then said, that she wished it was in her power to make so many women that she could provide a wife for each of her suitors. In times past they had seen what a loving mistress she had been to each of them; but now she was going to be married, and to belong to one alone,—and this is the one, she said; whereupon, she took the chosen suitor by the hand, and retired from the apartment. Her choice having been declared, the disappointed suitors and their respective factions went away amicably, and concluded the feast by dancing and drinking, until the senses of most of them were overcome.

When the house is ready, a feast is held.

She chooses her husband.

As to the bride, she was henceforward utterly cold to all her former lovers, and showed herself to be a true wife. The disappointed suitors, for the most part, bore their disappointment meekly, but sometimes it happened that on the morning after the marriage one or two of them were found to be hanging from a tree, and there the bodies remained, a ghastly spectacle of honour, to show the world how the fair Nicaraguan had been loved and lost.*

The disappointed suitors.

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* "De aquellos que fueron desechados algunos lo toman en paçiençia ó los mas, ó aun tambien acaesçe amanesçer ahorcadò de un árbol alguno ó algunos dellos, porque haya el diablo mas parte en la boda."—OVIEDO, *Hist. Gen. y Nat. de Indias*, lib. 42, cap. 12.

B. XIII. Ch. I.

Certainly, amongst all the strange things that have been done in the way of matrimony and marriage rites, a stranger practice than the foregoing has never been made known to the world.

The Nicaraguans given to omens.

The Nicaraguans are pronounced by Oviedo to have been much given to the consideration of omens, and he narrates an interpretation of an omen, which affords an unmistakeable insight into their miserable history during the first seven years that followed the discovery of the land by the Spaniards.

A meteor seen at Leon, Jan., 1529.

On a Thursday, the 19th of January, 1529, a remarkable meteor was seen by Oviedo over the town of Leon in Nicaragua. It was as broad as a rainbow, and stretched from the south-west point of the horizon to the middle of the heavens. This meteoric quadrant was white and transparent, for the stars were seen through it. It continued to be visible by night until the 7th of February. Oviedo saw it for twenty-four nights, but others had seen it several nights before he noticed it.

How the Nicaraguans construed the omen.

The natives, being asked by the historian what this sign in the heavens meant, the most ancient and wise among them replied, that the Indians were destined to die on the roads, and that the sign in the heavens was a road, which prognosticated that mode of death to them; "and well," as the historian adds, "might they divine this, for the Christians were in the habit of loading them and slaying them, making use of them as beasts of burden, to carry on their shoulders from

one part to another all that the Christians required."* B. XIII. Ch. I.

* "Preguntando yo á los indios que qué significaba aquella señal, deçian los sabios é mas ançianos dellos que se avian de morir los indios en caminos, é que aquella señal era camino, que significaba su muerte dellos caminando. Y podíanlo muy bien deçir é adevinar, porque los chripstianos los cargaban é mataban, sirviéndose dellos como de bestias, acareando é llevando á cuestas de unas partes é otras todo lo que les mandaban."—OVIEDO, *Hist. Gen. y Nat. de Indias*, lib. 42, cap. 11.

BOOK XIV.

ENCOMIENDAS.

CHAPTER I.

THE REBELLION OF ENRIQUE — THE VARIETY OF FORMS OF INDIAN SUBJECTION — INDIANS OF WAR—INDIANS OF RANSOM—INDIANS OF COMMERCE—THE BRANDING OF SLAVES—PERSONAL SERVICES—GENERAL QUESTIONS ARISING FROM THE ENCOMIENDA SYSTEM.

CHAPTER II.

NATURE OF ENCOMIENDAS RE-STATED—HISTORY OF ENCOMIENDAS RESUMED FROM THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO—ORIGINAL PLAN OF CORTES—JUNTA, IN 1523, FORBIDS ENCOMIENDAS — MEANWHILE CORTES GRANTS ENCOMIENDAS—PONCE DE LEON COMES TO MEXICO AS JUDGE OF RESIDENCIA—HIS INSTRUCTIONS ABOUT ENCOMIENDAS—THE QUESTION NOT DETERMINED, ON ACCOUNT OF THE UNSETTLED STATE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF MEXICO.

CHAPTER III.

MEANING OF THE WORD RESIDENCIA—ORIGIN OF THE PRACTICE OF TAKING RESIDENCIAS IN CASTILLE AND ARAGON—THE GOOD AND EVIL OF RESIDENCIAS.

CHAPTER IV.

THE RESIDENCIA OF CORTES—DEATH OF PONCE DE LEON—CONFUSED STATE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF MEXICO—PONCE DE LEON'S INSTRUCTIONS ABOUT ENCOMIENDAS COME TO NAUGHT—ENCOMIENDAS ALLOWED BY THE SPANISH COURT—AN AUDIENCIA CREATED FOR MEXICO—INSTRUCTIONS TO THIS AUDIENCIA DO NOT VARY THE NATURE OF ENCOMIENDAS IN NEW SPAIN.

CHAPTER V.

ARRIVAL OF THE AUDIENCIA — GREAT DISPUTES BETWEEN THE PROTECTORS OF THE INDIANS AND THE AUDIENCIA—THE AUDITORS PROSECUTE THE BISHOP OF MEXICO—THE BISHOP EXCOMMUNICATES THE AUDITORS—A GREAT JUNTA IN SPAIN ON THE SUBJECT OF THE INDIES.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SECOND AUDIENCIA ARRIVES IN MEXICO—PROCEEDINGS OF THE AUDITORS—GREAT ERROR IN THEIR INSTRUCTIONS ABOUT ENCOMIENDAS—SEVERITY TOWARDS THE COLONISTS—THE NUMBER OF ORPHANS IN NEW SPAIN.

CHAPTER VII.

THE IMPORTATION OF NEGROES—MONOPOLIES OF LICENCES—DEPOPULATION OF THE WEST INDIA ISLANDS.

CHAPTER VIII.

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE BISHOP-PRESIDENT IN NEW SPAIN—THE NEW AUDIENCIA DID NOT ABOLISH ENCOMIENDAS—WHY THEY FAILED TO DO SO—PROCEEDINGS IN SPAIN WITH RESPECT TO ENCOMIENDAS—THE CELEBRATED LAW OF SUCCESSION PASSED IN 1536.

CHAPTER I.

THE REBELLION OF ENRIQUE — THE VARIETY OF FORMS OF INDIAN SUBJECTION — INDIANS OF WAR—INDIANS OF RANSOM—INDIANS OF COMMERCE—THE BRANDING OF SLAVES—PERSONAL SERVICES—GENERAL QUESTIONS ARISING FROM THE ENCOMIENDA SYSTEM.

I COMMENCE this chapter with a pleasant and unexpected episode in the affairs of the Indies. The swollen mountain torrent, though now and then retarded for a moment, bursts through, winds round, leaps over, or dashes along with it every obstacle, and still pursues its main, inevitable course,—chafed, but not essentially diverted by any of these small interruptions. Such was the inpouring of the Spaniards upon the devoted territories of the New World. Tired with this uniform current of success, we naturally welcome anything like a triumph on the other side. Even had the conquerors been a company of great and good personages, each man of them a Cato or an Aristides, whose efforts all the world were bound to further and approve, we should not wish them always to conquer, and could bear to see them and their virtues tried occasionally by a little adversity, in the way of defeat. Much greater is this disrelish for any uniformity of good fortune on one side, when the

B. XIV. Ch. 1.

reader, as in this case, has to summon up in imagination all manner of distant benefits and indirect advantages, as proceeding, or likely to proceed, from the conquest, in order to enable him to endure, with any patience, the recital of horrors perpetrated by the conquerors, which, for the moment, seem to him lamentably purposeless and unproductive. Any gleam of good fortune, therefore, on the side which we know is ultimately to lose, on the Trojan side, as it may be called, is, then, most welcome. Even the aggressors of one age like to read of the prowess of the oppressed in a former age. Strange to say, this time, the check to the Spanish power in the Indies came, not from the vigorous, alert, and bloodthirsty Mexicans, but from the mild islanders whose praises Columbus had justly celebrated as a loving and uncovetous race. While Cortes was conquering Mexico, an insurrection, which it is difficult to dignify with the name of a rebellion (though such the Spaniards considered it), was assuming a vexatious, if not a formidable aspect, in the mountainous districts of Hispaniola. It began in 1519. The narrative of it will serve to exemplify the nature and the abuses of the *encomienda* system, and will, therefore, fitly form a prelude to the main subject of the present book.

Origin of the rebellion. 1519.

This rebellion, which may be considered the last expiring effort for Indian independence in the Island of Hispaniola, arose in the following manner. In the town of Vera Paz, in the province of Xaragua* (names that might well have some

* Xaragua had been the province of Queen Anacaona, the treacherous treatment of whom by Ovando is narrated in vol. 1, book 3, ch. 2.

fatality in them for the Spaniards), there was a Franciscan Monastery, where a young Indian cacique, the Lord of Bauruco, was educated by the good Fathers, having been baptized by the name of Enrique, and being called by the affectionate diminutive, Enriquillo. This Indian, after quitting the Monastery, went to serve, as was the custom with such caciques, in superintending the *encomienda* of a certain young Spaniard, whose

Enrique's education.

His servitude.

WESTERN PROVINCES OF HISPANIOLA.

name was Valenzuela, and to whom the caciquedom of Bauruco had been given in *encomienda*. Valenzuela sought to violate the Cacique's wife, and otherwise maltreated him. Enriquillo resolved to see what justice there was in Spanish judges. He appealed to the Lieutenant-Governor of the district for a redress of his grievances. The unjust Judge would not listen to him, and not merely dismissed his complaint, but threatened him with chastisement, and, as some say, put

29775

B. XIV. Ch. 1.

him in prison. When released, Enriquillo, whose characteristics were extreme patience and perseverance, proceeded to the *Audiencia* at St. Domingo, and appealed against the Lieutenant-Governor. The *Audiencia* merely referred the matter back to the local Judge, who, naturally enough, did not vary his decision, and treated Enriquillo worse than before.

Appeals to the *Audiencia.*

The Cacique calmly went back to his work, but, when the band of labourers whom he had to superintend (*quadrilla* it was called) returned to their homes at the appointed time for such changes, he resolved to come no more to work for such a master as Valenzuela, and, being supported by a small body of resolute followers, prepared to defend himself in his own mountainous country.

Resolves to revolt.

When it was found that neither Enriquillo, nor the Indians he was sent to bring with him, made their appearance at the proper time on their owner's farm, Valenzuela naturally conjectured, knowing the offence he had given, that the Cacique was in revolt. Accordingly, accompanied by eleven Spaniards, Valenzuela went into the Cacique's country, to compel his obedience and to chastise him. When he arrived there, however, he found Enriquillo and his Indians rudely armed, but ready and determined to defend themselves. An encounter took place: two of the Spaniards were killed; most of them were wounded; and the whole party were put to flight. The Cacique would not allow his men to pursue the Spaniards, but merely called after his former master, "Be thankful, Valenzuela, that I do not

His conflict with his *Encomendero* Valenzuela.

slay you. Go, and take care to come hither no more." The disappointed *Encomendero* and his party returned with swift steps to the Spanish town of St. Juan de Maguana, "Valenzuela's pride being punished, if not cured," as Las Casas, delighting in the success of the Indians, exultingly exclaims.

The revolt was now fully declared. At first, it concerned only the few followers of Enriquillo; but these men, being aided by fugitives from other estates in the island, and, as it is said, by some negroes from the neighbouring island of San Juan, gradually became a terror to the peaceful and money-making inhabitants of Hispaniola. The Spanish warrior was now a proprietor; and immersed in gainful pursuits, regarded the occupation of a soldier as tedious, inconvenient, and out of date.

Other fugitives join Enrique.

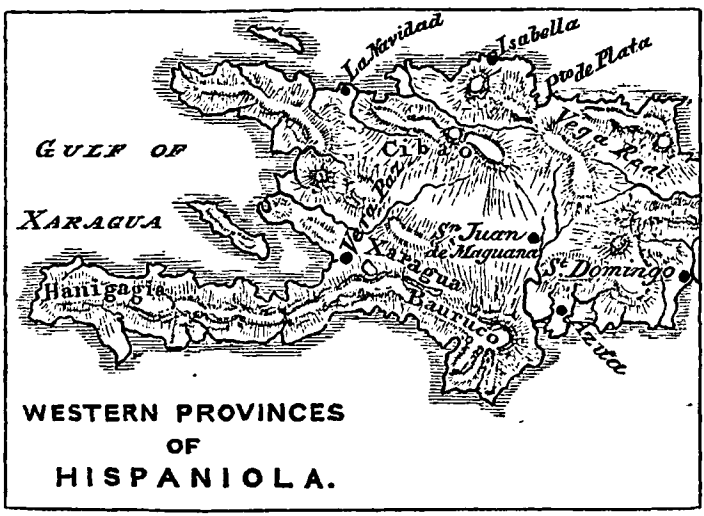
Las Casas compares the followers of Enrique to those of David in the cave of Adullam.* The band of fugitives never amounted to any great number, but their movements were so skilful, their precautions so well taken, and the country they occupied so rugged and so densely wooded, that it was found impossible to dislodge them. They, doubtless, occupied the whole of that long ridge which stretches from Bauruco to Hanigagia, the extreme south-western part of the island.

* "And every one that was in distress, and every one that was in debt, and every one that was discontented, gathered themselves unto him; and he became a captain over them: and there were with him about four hundred men."—I Samuel, cap. 22, v. 2.

B. XIV. Ch. I.

The personal vigilance of Enrique was unceasing. His object appears to have been to avoid all unnecessary contests between the Spaniards and his followers, playing the part of a determined fugitive, who did not wish to be found, but who, if encountered, would never be found irresolute or unprepared. He himself chose the earliest part of the night, or rather the latest of the evening, for his own sleep; then, rising and taking with

Enrique's vigilance.



WESTERN PROVINCES OF HISPANIOLA.

him two youths as pages, he made the rounds of the camp. These attendants carried lances, and bore Enrique's sword. His own hands were occupied in telling the beads of his rosary, while he repeated the appointed prayers of that religious exercise.

It is evident that his education in the Franciscan Monastery had impressed upon him not the outward habits only of religion, but that it had borne the best fruits, and was felt as a re-

straint which rendered his leadership especially politic and humane. He was always anxious to save life; and, in fact, he forbade that any Spaniard should be put to death, except in the moment of conflict.

Enrique's humanity.

On one occasion, a company of upwards of seventy Spanish soldiers were routed by Enrique's followers, and took refuge in some caves. The victorious Indians brought wood to the entrance of the caves, in order to suffocate the Spaniards; but Enrique would not allow this barbarity to be perpetrated, and, merely depriving the vanquished men of their arms, suffered them to depart in peace. One of them who, in the hour of peril, had vowed to become a monk, entered the Dominican Monastery at St. Domingo, and was the witness for this story.*

A notable instance of his humanity.

Enrique's disposition of his men and of his resources was very skilful. He took care to prevent any single surprise or defeat from being fatal to his power. He formed amidst the *sierras* several farms (*labranzas*), for which he chose spots at ten or twelve leagues distance from each other. In these farms he placed the women, the children, and the old men, not allowing them, however, to occupy any one farm permanently, but making them move about from station to station. No dogs or domestic fowls were kept upon the farms,

His stations amidst the *sierras*.

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* "De estos setenta Españoles se metió Fraile uno en el Monasterio de Santo Domingo por voto que habia hecho, viéndose en aquella angustia, no creyendo de se escapar. Y dél obe lo que de esta cosa yo aquí escribo."—Las Casas, *Hist. de las Indias*, MS., lib. 3, cap. 125.

B. XIV. Ch. I.

lest by the noise of these creatures the enemy should gain a knowledge of Enrique's positions. A very hidden spot, however, was chosen for such animals as were necessary (the dogs were indispensable for hunting, and the sustenance of the force depended much upon them), and there they were entrusted to the management of only two or three families. It was a practice of Enrique's followers to keep away from that spot, in order that they might never be the means of bringing the enemy on the right track to it.

His skilful precautions against surprise.

Another precaution of great importance was adopted by this able Chieftain. Whenever he sent out a small body of his men to fish, or to hunt, they were not to find him again in the place from which he had sent them out, nor did they know exactly where they should find him.* If, therefore, they were captured, and subjected to torture by the Spaniards, it was impossible for them to reveal where their chief was to be found. He did not, however, adopt this precaution when he sent out a large party, taking it for granted that they would not all be captured, and that some one would escape who might give him due notice.

His moderation formidable.

His skill, his prudence, and even his moderation rendered him formidable to the Spanish Government of Hispaniola. That moderation showed the influence which he possessed over his followers, and also tended to allay the personal fears

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* "Nunca le habian de hallar en lugar donde lo dexaron ni ellos sabian puntualmente á donde lo habian de hallado." (*Sic* in MS.)—Las Casas, *Hist. de las Indias*, MS., lib. 3, cap. 125.

of the colonists, and so render them less disposed to aid the Government vigorously in endeavouring to capture this pious, discreet, and dangerous Chieftain.

As was to be expected, minor personages amongst the Indians sought to imitate the example of Enrique in all but his moderation towards the Spaniards. The most daring, however, of these lesser rebels was won over by Enrique, and came to serve as his Lieutenant.

Fruitless attempts of the Government against Enrique.

The aspect which this rebellion presented was such, that no prudent government could be contented to leave Enrique unmolested in his mountains. Accordingly, many attempts were made by the *Audiencia* of St. Domingo to dislodge and capture him; but expedition after expedition failed; and we are assured, on the testimony of Oviedo, that no less than forty thousand *pesos* were spent upon these expeditions. Peaceful means were tried as well as warlike. Father Remigius, one of the Franciscan monks from Picardy, who have more than once come prominently forward in this history—one of those, probably, who had been concerned in the education of the young Cacique, —was sent to persuade him to return to his obedience, or, as it was more prudently worded, to become the friend of the Spaniards. Remigius was kindly and respectfully received by Enrique, but he did not reach the Cacique's presence until he had been stripped of his garments by Enrique's followers. The conference between the Franciscan and the Cacique led to no result. Enrique recounted his wrongs. In order not to perish as

Father Remigius is sent to negotiate with Enrique.

B. XIV. Ch. I.

his parents had done, he had taken refuge in these *sierras*. He did no harm to any one, but only defended himself against those who came to capture him. "And that he might not again be subjected to a slavery, in which all his Indians would perish as their forefathers had done, it was his determination to have no dealings with any Spaniard."*

Every thoughtful reader will be struck with the singular phenomenon of this Indian Chief maintaining his position for so many years against the Spaniards, the numbers of the contending parties being so disproportionate. When Hispaniola was first overrun by the Spaniards, their numbers amounted to three hundred; while the natives were to be counted by hundreds of thousands;† and now, when there were four thousand Spaniards in the island, and only two thousand Indians, a body of fugitives of about three hundred, who generally went together in parties of twelve or fifteen, sufficed to keep the Spanish inhabitants in a state of considerable appre-

Causes of Enrique's success.

* "Y que para vivir la vida que hasta entonces habian vivido en servidumbre donde sabia que habian todos de perecer como sus pasados, no habia de ver mas Español para conversallo."—Las Casas, *Hist. de las Indias*, MS., lib. 3, cap. 125.

† I do not adopt the three or four million spoken of by Las Casas in the following passage:—"Y esta fué cierta cosa digna de contarse por maravilla: que habiendo en esta Ysla sobre tres ó quatro cuentos de ánimas, solos tres cientos Españoles les sobjuzgaron, y las tres ó quatro partes de ellas por guerras y con servidumbre horrible en las minas destruyeron; y que en aqueste tiempo que esto acaecia, habiendo en esta Ysla tres ó cuatro mill Españoles solos dos Yndios, con cada doce ó quince compañeros, y no juntos sino uno agora y otro despues distinctos, les hiciesen temblar las carnes, no se hallando ni teniendo por seguros aun en sus pueblos." — Las Casas, *Hist. de las Indias*, MS., lib. 3, cap. 126.

hension, even in their towns. But the arms, and the dogs, and the education were not now all on one side. Moreover, peace, plenty, and large possessions form the broad highways of conquest; and it is not difficult to see how a small band of marauders may devastate, and even subdue, vast and fertile provinces, where the inhabitants are absorbed in gainful pursuits, and where the practice of arms falls into desuetude. But this excuse must not be confined to the Spaniards or the white men only; and it must be remembered who, when the great struggle in the Indies first began, were the rich and timid proprietors, and who the poor and brave adventurers in arms.

Conference between San Miguel and Enrique. 1529.

Another peaceful expedition was sent in the year 1529 to the haunts of Enrique, the command of it being given to an experienced soldier, named San Miguel. The contending parties were nearly coming to terms, when some suspicious circumstances led the Cacique to break off the conference.

Charles the Fifth writes to Enrique. 1533.

Finally, in the year 1533, an armament was sent from Spain under the command of a skilful Captain, named Francisco de Barrio Nuevo, who was entrusted with a letter from the Emperor Charles the Fifth to this revolted Cacique, Enrique. De Barrio Nuevo would probably have been as unsuccessful as several of his predecessors, if he had not shown the utmost confidence in the honour and good faith of the Cacique. Accompanied by a few followers only, who very reluctantly undertook so great a danger, De Barrio Nuevo penetrated into one of Enrique's places of refuge,

De Barrio Nuevo has a conference with Enrique.

B. XIV. Ch. I.

and there held a conference with the Chieftain.

Peace arranged. 1533.

On this occasion, a treaty was brought about, the conditions of which were, that, henceforward, there should be amity between the Indians and the Spaniards; that Don Enrique (he had now received this title from the Emperor) and his men should live in peace wherever they pleased, and that they should assist in capturing other fugitives, Indians and negroes, at a certain fixed price per head.

It appears, however, that there was still some distrust on the part of Enrique, and fear on the part of the Spanish inhabitants, until Las Casas, who had known Enrique before, went to the Cacique and assured him of the reliance that he might place on the Emperor's word. During the short time that Las Casas remained in Enrique's country, he preached and said mass each day. When Las Casas returned, the Cacique and his followers accompanied him* to the town of Azua, where all those were baptized who had not already been so,† after which they returned joyfully to their own country. Enrique afterwards went to St. Domingo, where he signed the articles of

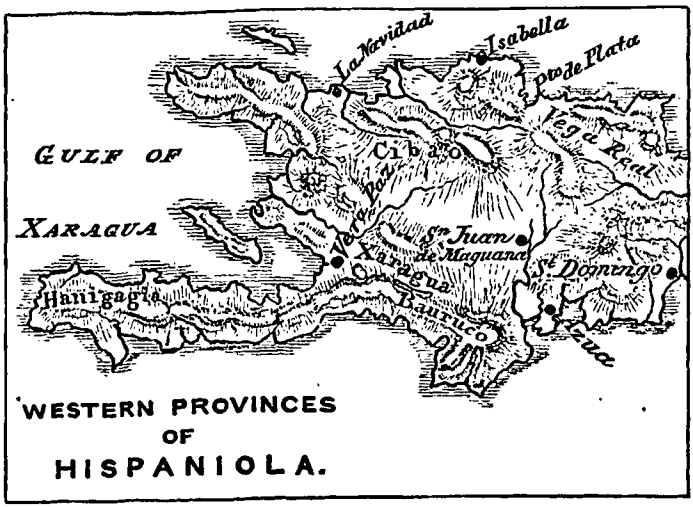
Enrique assured by Las Casas. 1533.

Enrique's followers baptized.

* See OVIEDO, *Hist. Gen. y Nat. de Indias*, lib. 5, cap. 11.

† FATHER CHARLEVOIX is astonished that the Indians had not been baptized by some one of themselves.—"Il est étonnant que ces Insulaires, qui étoient tous Chrétiens, et dont plusieurs avoient été instruits dés l'enfance avec soin, ne sçussent pas que dans un besoin ils pouvoient conférer la Baptême; car de leur aveu ils avoient laissé mourir jusqu' à 300 Enfans sans leur procurer l'adoption Divine, qui est le fruit de ce Sacrement."—*Histoire de S. Domingue*, tom. 1, liv. 6, p. 474.

peace, which had hitherto only been signed by his deputies, and he and his followers were then settled upon the lands given to them, at Boya, thirteen or fourteen leagues from St. Domingo.* Father Charlevoix says that all the Indians who could prove their descent from the original inhabitants of the island were permitted to follow Enrique, and the Father adds that their posterity remained there to his time. The Cacique sur- B. XIV. Ch. I.



WESTERN PROVINCES OF HISPANIOLA.

vived the declaration of peace for little more than a year. Enrique's death. 1534.

The foregoing revolt being confined to few people, and within narrow limits, had little or no influence on the principal march of events in the Indies, which now were naturally dependent on the extensive countries which Cortes had brought under the dominion of the Spanish Crown.

* See CHARLEVOIX, *Hist. de S. Domingue*, tom. I, liv. 6, p. 475.

B. XIV. Ch. I.

New Spain being conquered, and, to some extent, colonized by the Spaniards, the main work of conquest for that part of the New World may be considered to have been sufficiently accomplished. It remains to be seen what was the fate of the conquered nations; and, could that be thoroughly exemplified as it existed for a hundred years after the discovery of America, it would go far to exhaust that very important part of the world's history which consists in the relations of the conquerors to the conquered. Every variety of form which subjection has ever taken was exemplified in the state of the Indians, at some period or other, during the course of these hundred years; and the spirit of slavery, as in a magical contest, when ejected from one form of being, fled into another, for ever engaged in baffling the wisest laws, briefs, edicts, and ordinances, not less than the maxims and the conduct of good men, which were arrayed against it.

All forms of subjection exemplified in the Indies.

The history of a cause seems much less interesting than that of one great man, or of a people; but, could the historian really tell it, it would be the story of all stories, and would enchant a listening world. It seems to abide in dates, and public documents, and resolutions of public assemblies,—in short, in the material husk of events, and forms a narrative which even serious and dutiful readers are very glad to have passed over. Yet the most beautiful part of private life, the silent revolutions in men's souls, the most quiet heroism on earth, are all to be found twined together in one continued chain of finely-wrought

action and meditation, constituting the secret history of a great cause.

Consider the growth of opinion in any one man's mind; how crudely the opinion is formed at first in his thought; how he is affected by discussion with friends, by controversy with sincere opponents, by some remote analogy in present life, or in past history: how, strange to say, when his mind has apparently been disengaged from the subject, he finds, all of a sudden, great growth or change of opinion has been going on in him, so that it seems as if he had been thinking while he had been sleeping. Then, if the mind of this man is of deep and fertile soil, how all the beautiful influences of literature, of natural scenery, of science, and of art, enlarge and modify the growing opinion—hardly now to be called by so small a name as an opinion, but a cause,—how his thought is modified by chance remarks from his fellows, which were not meant to influence him—those remarks which tell so much upon most of us, because the moral we draw from them is all our own.

Imagine, too, that from some fitness of the season, as in great scientific discoveries, so in the breaking into light of a great cause, the same processes are going on in many minds, and it seems as if they communicated with each other invisibly; nay, we may imagine that all good powers aid this cause, and brave and wise thoughts about it float aloft in the atmosphere of thought as downy seeds are borne over the fruitful face of the earth. And, if good powers do regard these things,

B. XIV. Ch. I.

imagine the pity and the sorrow with which they behold the right man taking the wrong side, and the virtues of a man put into the scale of oppression and of cruelty.

Then consider how the ordinary motives and occurrences of life affect the growth of this great cause; how it is lapped in the indolence of public and of private men, now strangled by cares, now overpowered by the loud noises of really unimportant events, now oppressed by a vicious conservatism, now fairly conquered by sophistry, so that, like some great subterranean river, it is forced to descend into the soil, burying itself in the hearts of the few faithful, until, being a divine thing, it emerges clear and beautiful as ever, and unobservant men suppose that it has sprung up amongst them for the first time.

Soon it enters on a larger career, is at one time furthered, at another hindered, by men's vanity, partakes largely of love, of honour, and ambition, enters into the intrigues of Courts, of Senates, of Administrations, is borne out in fleets and armies, and comes forth to conquer or to die.

The history of *encomiendas* is, perhaps, the largest branch of the greatest public cause the world has yet seen, and embraces all the hopes, influences, and vicissitudes that have been described above.

It is a misfortune that, with the exception of one Italian gentleman, Benzoni, we have no instance of an independent traveller going to the New World, and making his remarks upon the

state of society in it. But, if there had been such travellers, the aspects which the conquered country would have presented to them would have been very various, and very difficult to understand. They would have seen some Indians with marks in their faces, toiling at the mines; while other Indians, unbranded, and perhaps with their wives, were also engaged in the same unwelcome toil. They would have noticed some Indians at work in domestic offices in and about the Spanish houses; other Indians employed in erecting public buildings and monasteries; others working, in their rude, primitive way, upon their own plantations; others occupied in the new employment, to them, of tending cattle brought from Spain; others engaged in manufactories of silk and cotton; others reckoning with king's officers, and involved in all the intricacies of minute accounts. Everywhere, on all roads, tracks, and by-paths, they would have seen Indians carrying burdens; and these travellers must have noticed the extraordinary fact that an activity in commerce, war, and public works, greater perhaps than that of Europe at the same time, was dependent, as regards transport, upon men instead of beasts of burden. Such a state of things the world had never seen before.

Different employments of the conquered people.

Then, across the path of these travellers would have moved a small, stern-looking body of Spaniards, fully armed, and followed by more thousands of Indians than the men in armour numbered hundreds, — probably five thousand Indians and three hundred Spaniards. These

B. XIV. Ch. I.

were about to make what they called an entrance (*entrada*) into some unknown or half-known adjacent country. If the travellers, without attracting the notice of the conquerors, could have gained the opportunity of speaking a few words with any of the Indians engaged in these various ways, they would soon have heard narratives varying in a hundred particulars, but uniform in one respect, namely, that the Indians were all unwillingly engaged in working for alien masters.

Not much light from historians on this subject.

We have no such accounts of travellers to aid us; neither will the formal accounts of historians throw much light upon this matter. It is the remark of one of the most eminent lawyers (and it is from lawyers and priests that most information is to be derived in this all-important part of the history), that all the historians, Gomara, Remesal, Herrera, Torquemada, though treating of political matters, put aside the question of *encomiendas*—that subject, however, being, as the lawyer well observes, the end to which all these political matters were directed.* This is not surprising: the same thing may be observed in Theology as in History; and it must have occurred to every studious person, how, in the cloud of comment on a difficult passage in the Bible, the commentators often seem to avoid the whole gist of the difficulty. It is curious that in the works of a rough soldier† of that period, who merely aimed at giving

* "Siendo el fin á que todas se dirigen."—Antonio de Leon, *Tratado de Confirmaciones Reales*, parte 1, cap. 4. Madrid, 1630.

† Diego de Vargas Machuca.

an account of how Indians should be made war upon, there is a keen perception of what was the real difficulty of the Conquest, namely, the division of the spoil. He justly declares that the day when a commander had to apportion Indians amongst his followers was the most embarrassing day of his career; and if the captain were a statesman as well as a soldier, such as Cortes, the embarrassment would be greatly enhanced to him by his keen perception of the importance of his proceedings. B. XIV. Ch. I.

I cannot better begin this very difficult and complicated subject, which, however, if once understood, will reward all the attention it requires, containing in it the end and object for which this work was written, than by giving a precise definition, according to the best Spanish legists, of what an *encomienda* was. It was "a right, conceded by royal bounty (*á merced y voluntad del Rey**) to well-deserving persons in the Indies, to receive and enjoy for themselves the tributes of the Indians who should be assigned to

Definition of an *encomienda.*

* These words were considered to limit the *encomienda* to one life: "Eran con el" (*el* here meant the above words, *merced*, &c.) las Encomiendas por sola una vida: porque no dura mas la merced i voluntad del Rey en las gracias i mercedes; que como son personales, se extinguen con la persona, sin passar a sucessor. Assi se dan oy las plaças de Presidentes, Oydores, Alcaldes del Crimen, Oficiales Reales; i otros oficios destos i de aquellos Reynos, que se reputan de por vida, por esta clausula."—ANTONIO DE LEON, *Confirmaciones Reales*, parte 1, cap. 3, p. 11.

The limitation was not an afterthought, for we find the expression *cuanto nuestra merced e voluntad fuere e no mas* in the letter of Ferdinand to Columbus, dated 1509, granting him permission to make *repartimientos*. —See vol. 1, p. 223.

B. XIV. Ch. I.

them, with a charge of providing for the good of those Indians in spiritual and temporal matters, and of inhabiting and defending the provinces where these *encomiendas* should be granted to them."*

It may seem, at first sight, that this will not be a very attractive subject; but if we find it uninteresting, it will only be from our want of knowledge or want of imagination. We proudly follow, identifying ourselves with him, some merely stupid or selfish conqueror, and scarcely spend a few poor thoughts upon the fate of millions, who lived at the same time, and were affected in a thousand ways by his conquests. In this particular case of the Conquest of America, there was, however, more at hazard for mankind than had ever occurred before, or can well occur hereafter. Distant Africa was immediately to feel the effect of even slight changes of legislation at the Spanish Court, and the petty conquests of some ignorant captain, and the obscure endeavours of some humble priest, were to be magnified in the most gigantic and portentous manner, and to

Importance of Spanish legislation for the Indies.

* I have framed the above definition from SOLÓRZANO, (*Política Indiana*, lib. 3, cap. 3. Madrid, 1647), omitting that part of his definition which applies to later periods in the history of the *Encomienda*.

With respect to the claim which the Indians had upon the good offices of their *Encomenderos*, ACOSTA is very decisive. —"Sunt propriè susceptores Indorum, sive Patroni (ita enim appellare malo, quos vulgus nostrum suo sermone *Encomenderos* vocat) quibus pro cura, ac providentia, quam gerere debent hominum suæ fidei, ac tutelæ commissorum, licet sanè tributa quædam vicissim capere."—*De procuranda salute Indorum*, lib. 3, cap. 10, p. 286. Coloniæ Agrippinæ, 1596.

be felt hereafter throughout the whole civilized world. If mere destruction of life, the life of men like ourselves, be taken into account, this Conquest and its consequences will be found to be one of the greatest transactions in history; for, however we may grieve to hear it, further research only more and more supports the statements of Las Casas, who was wont to estimate the loss of lives by millions—a way of talking which has ever since seemed to imply great exaggeration, but which we must, henceforth, listen to with respectful attention, if not with complete assent.

Great loss of life amongst the conquered people.

The first thing that will strike the careful reader is that the foregoing definition of *encomienda* will by no means justify or account for the various kinds of forced service which I picture those travellers to have seen, who might have visited the Spanish Indies within the first fifty years after its conquest. But this apparent discrepancy may be easily explained. These *encomiendas* were not given, theoretically at least, until after the complete conquest of the province in which they were given. During the time of war, those Indians who were made prisoners were considered slaves, and were called *Indios de guerra*, just the same as when the Spaniards made war upon the Moors of Barbary,—the slaves, in that case, being called *Berberiscos*.

Encomienda not the only source of subjection in the Indies.

Indios de guerra.

Then there were the ransomed slaves, *Indios de rescate*, as they were called, who, being originally slaves in their own tribe, were delivered by the cacique of that tribe, or by other Indians, in lieu of tribute. Upon this it must be remarked

Indios de rescate.

B. XIV. Ch. I.

that the word slave meant a very different thing in Indian language from what it did in Spanish language, and certainly did not exceed in signification the word vassal. A slave in an Indian tribe, as LAS CASAS remarks, possessed his house, his hearth, his private property, his farm, his wife, his children, and his liberty, except when at certain stated times his lord had need of him, to build his house, or labour upon a field, or at other similar things which occurred at stated intervals.* This statement is borne out by a letter addressed to the Emperor from the Auditors of Mexico, in which they say that, "granted that amongst the Indians there were slaves, the one servitude is very different from the other. The Indians treated their slaves as relations and vassals, the Christians as dogs."† The *Audiencia* proceed to remark that slaves were wont to succeed their masters in their seigniories, and they illustrate this by saying that at the time of the conquest it was a slave who governed that part of the citadel which is called Temixtitan. Moreover, such confidence was placed in this man, that

Circumstances of a native slave.

A slave the governor of part of Mexico.

* "Porque tenia su casa, y su hogar, y su peculio, y hazienda, é su muger, é sus hijos, y gozar de su libertad, como los otros súbditos libres sus vezinos; sino era quando el señor avia menester hazer su casa, ó labrar su sementera, ó otras cosas semejantes que se hazian á sus tiempos."—*Un tratado que el Obispo de la Ciudad Real de Chiapa,* DON FRAY BARTHOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS, ó CASAUS, *compuso por comission del Consejo Real de las Indias, sobre la materia de los Indios que se han hecho en ellas esclavos,* p. 131. Año 1552.

† "Puesto que entre los Indios huviese esclavos es cosa muy diferente la una servidumbre de la otra. Ellos los trataban como parientes í vasallos, los Cristianos como perros." — *Coleccion de* MUÑOZ, MS., tom. 79.

Cortes himself gave him the same government after the death of King Quauhtemotzin. The Auditors conclude by saying, "He is dead, and there is here a son of his who went with the Marquis to kiss your Majesty's hands."*

The causes for which these men were made slaves in their own tribes were of the most trivial nature, and such as would go some way to prove that the slavery itself was light. In times of scarcity a parent would sell a son or a daughter for two *fanegas* of maize. The slightest robbery was punished with slavery, and then, if the slave gave anything to his relatives from the house of his master, they were liable to be made slaves. In cases of non-payment of debt, as in the Roman law, after a certain time the debtor became a slave. If a slave fled, the lord took the nearest kinsman of the fugitive for a slave, by which it seems that relationship in those countries had the inconveniences that it seems to have in China now.

How the natives became slaves to one another.

But the strangest and most ludicrous way in which a free Indian could become a slave was by losing at a game of ball, in which practised players inveigled their simple brethren, after the fashion of modern sharpers, showing rich things to be gained, and pretending that they themselves knew nothing of the game.

* "Así dicen que era esclavo un Tapia que governaba la parte desta Ciudad que se dice Temixtitan. . . . . Á este encomendó la governacion despues de la muerte de Coatemucin el Marques í le llebó No. de Guzman á la guerra donde fué. Es muerto í está aquí un hijo suyo que fue con el Marques á besar las manos á Vuestra Magestad."—*Coleccion de* Muñoz, MS., tom. 79.

B. XIV. Ch. I.

This account of the ways in which the Indians became slaves amongst their own people is confirmed by a letter addressed to the Emperor in 1525 from the Contador of Mexico, Rodrigo de Albornoz.* It is one of the first official notices that exists, I believe, of the abuses respecting ransomed slaves. In the course of the letter, the Contador gives his opinion of the nature and genius of the people. He finds them to be a race of buyers and sellers, as they had shown by already adapting themselves to the tastes of the Spaniards as purchasers,† and he adds that they are as much devoted to all kinds of work as the labourers of Spain, only that they are more subtle and lively (*mas súbtiles í vivos*).

* "El daño, Cathólica Magestad, que se hace á los Indios de sacar í herrar tantos esclavos es que los Señores Indios destas partes el mayor servicio é ayuda que tienen para poblar í cultivar su tierra, í dar el tributo á los cristianos á quien estan encomendados es tener esclavos de quien en esto se sirven mucho, lo segundo que como los cristianos les demandan muchos mas de los que les pueden dar por contentar á los cristianos á vuelta de 10 esclavos vienen otros 6 vasallos que no lo son, í algunas veces los hierran como á los esclavos porque los mesmos siendo algunos libres por contentar á sus Señores dicen que son esclavos; lo tercero que quando no bastan de los vasallos como los Indios tienen á 10 í 12 mugeres en especial los que son personas principales acaeze á tener 20 í 30 hijos í traer algunos dellos í venderlos entre sí que parece lo tienen por grangería como los cristianos de los animales, lo quarto que por mui fáciles cosas í de poco crimen hacen unos á otros esclavos á unos porque á sus padres ó madres les dieron diez ó doce anegas de maiz, á otro porque le dieron á su padre siete ú ocho mantillas de los que ellos se cubren, á otro le hacen esclavo porque hurtó diez mazorcas de maiz ó quatro, á otro porque siendo niño le dió uno de comer medio año ó uno aunque se serviese de él, í así por estas cosas mui fáciles, í de burla se hacen unos á otros esclavos."—*Al* EMPERADOR CARLOS V., RODRIGO DE ALBORNOZ, *en Temistitan á* 15 *de Diciembre, de* 1525. *Coleccion de* MUÑOZ, MS., tom. 77.

† "Crian aves de España."

The Contador exposes an evil which has not hitherto been commented upon, with respect to ransomed slaves. It was bad enough that men, made slaves for such light and ludicrous causes as have been referred to, should exchange a sunny, silken slavery, for the dark, iron one of new and alien masters; but, as he points out, when the Spaniards demanded slaves of the caciques, the result was, that, in order to content the Christians, to every ten slaves there came six vassals who were no slaves. The Contador, like a good man of business, does not point out an evil without at the same time suggesting a remedy. He advises that a distinction should be taken, not only affecting the slaves which the caciques shall hereafter deliver, but also those which they had delivered; and that this distinction should refer to the original causes of slavery. For instance, if the Indian that was asserted to be a slave should have been born of slave parents, or if he should have been captured in any of their wars, he should still be considered to be a slave. But if he had been made a slave from any of these foolish little causes (*aquellas poquedades*), his slavery should not be admitted. As the Contador feared, however, that it would be of no use to return those Indians who might be pronounced to be free, he suggested that they should be considered as *naborías* (a native term for a servant who was engaged to serve for one or two years);*

Vassals sent as slaves.

Suggestion of the Contador of Mexico.

* For a definition of this term, see the following passage from Antonio de Leon:—"Començaron luego algunos Re-

B. XIV. Ch. I.

and he added, that in order that they might not be secretly branded, and so degraded into slavery, he would take the trouble to keep an account of them, in an official book, that so their masters might be compelled to produce them when asked.

In the course of this letter the Contador suggests to the Emperor to send for the Licentiate Zuazo, as a person who could give his Majesty "thorough light and information"* about New Spain. This is the same Zuazo who had been banished by the Factor. He was also a friend of Las Casas, as the reader will recollect, and was sent by the Cardinal Ximenes to accompany the Jeronimites in their mission. He was the man whose appointment the Cardinal compelled the unwilling Privy Councillors to sign. It is very interesting to trace this connexion, and to see how a good cause gradually gathers fitting men to aid it.

I do not know whether any direct answer was given to the important letter of the Contador of

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ligiosos á dudar, de la justificacion deste repartimiento: por lo qual se declaró, que no avia de ser de por vida, sino que los Indios avian de servir por Naborías, ó Tapías, que era servicio de uno ó dos años, í despues por otros dos, í así temporalmente." — *Confirmaciones Reales*, parte 1, cap. 1.

* "Í si assí desto como de todo lo demas destas partes Vuestra Magestad quisiere largamente ser informado mande embiar á la Española por el Licenciado Zuazo que ha estado en las islas ocho ó diez años, í en esta tierra ha dias que le conocen bien muchos del consejo, í tiene mucha esperiencia í bondad é podrá dar entera luz é informacion á Vuestra Magestad de todo en especial desta que es mui diferente de todas las otras Islas é tierras." — *Al* Emperador, Rodrigo de Albornoz. *Coleccion de* Muñoz, MS., tom. 77.

Mexico, but in the following year a general order was issued from the Court of Spain, that all authorities in the Indies should ascertain who possessed Indian slaves taken from their own country, and that, if these slaves wished it, they should be returned to their own country, provided it could be done without inconvenience; and, if that could not be done, they should be set at liberty where they were, if they could take care of themselves. It was further added, that, if the said Indians were Christians, they should not be allowed to return to their country, on account of the danger which would follow to their souls.* This general order, which seems, at first, very large and very strong, was, I imagine, entirely inoperative, on account of the exceptions allowed; and it was probably not meant to apply to slaves of war or slaves of ransom, but rather to slaves of commerce, for a custom began to arise of importing in large numbers Indian slaves from the continent to the West India Islands, and to Spain itself.

Order from Spain that all Indian slaves should be restored to their own country. 1526.

However, in 1528, if not before, a great step was taken, which affected both slaves of ransom and slaves of war. This was, that the Govern-

* "Que las Justicias procurasen de saber quienes tenian Indios Esclavos, traídos de sus Tierras; í queriendo ellos, los hiciesen bolver á ellas, si buenamente, i sin incomodidad se pudiese hacer; í no se pudiendo, los pusiesen en su libertad, segun que para ello le diese lugar la capacidad de sus Personas, teniendo consideracion al provecho de los Indios, para que fuesen tratados como libres, bien mantenidos, í governados, sin darles demasiado trabajo; í que si los dichos Indios fuesen Christianos, no se dexasen bolver á sus tierras, por el peligro que á sus Ánimas se les seguia."—HERRERA, *Hist. de las Indias*, dec. 3, lib. 9, cap. 2.

B. XIV. Ch. I.

ment should be responsible for the branding of slaves, and that it should not be done by private persons. As this is a very important piece of legislation, and is briefly expressed, it may be given in full. "By reason of the disorder in making slaves, and selling free Indians that are not slaves, it is commanded that whosoever shall possess Indians whom he asserts to be slaves shall present them before the Authorities (*la justicia*) in the place where the Royal Officers may be, and show the title or cause why these men are slaves; and, the Authorities approving, the slave shall be inscribed by a scrivener, and branded with an iron, which only the Authorities shall keep, and no private person. The Indian who is found to have been made a slave unjustly, let him be set at liberty, and notification made by the public crier."

The branding of slaves no longer allowed to private persons. Sept. 1528.

Title of slave to be produced.

This document was executed at Madrid on the nineteenth of September, 1528, and is signed by Cobos, the Secretary of State.*

The same year was signalized by a royal order in favour of the negroes, which, though it a little interrupt the thread of the narrative, must find a place here. It says that in order to animate the

* "Por la desórden en hacer esclavos í venderlos á Indios libres que qualquiera que tenga Indios que pretenda esclavos los presente ante la Justicia en el lugar do esten los Oficiales Reales, í muestren el título ó causa porque lo son, í aprobándolo la Justicia, se escriban por el Escribano í se hierren con el hierro que solo la Justicia tendrá, í no particular alguno. El que se halle ser hecho esclavo injustamente póngase en libertad í pregónese."—*Provision Real;* Secretario Covos, *Madrid, 19 de Setiembre,* 1528. *Coleccion de* Muñoz, MS., tom. 78.

negroes to work, and to induce them to marry, the Emperor is informed that it would be well that they should be enabled to purchase their freedom, fixing the rate at twenty marks of gold at the least; and he desires the Authorities to consider of this, and to let him know their opinion.* We are not informed of the answer given in reply by the Authorities at Mexico.

B. XIV. Ch. 1.

The Emperor suggests that negroes might purchase their freedom. 1528.

In the following year, 1529, when Charles the Fifth was going to be crowned by the Pope, he sent orders from Barcelona to the Council of Castille that they should discuss, and resolve upon, the future government of the Indies. The resolutions they came to, and the orders they gave, will be more largely mentioned hereafter; but in this matter of branding slaves it may be noticed that they forbade that any Indian should be made a slave, and ordered that those who had been branded

Order from Spain that no Indian should be made a slave.

* "Assí mismo soy informado, que para que los negros, que se passan á essas partes se assegurassen y no se alçassen, ni se ausentassen y se animassen á trabajar y servir á sus dueños, con mas voluntad demas de casallos, seria bien que serviendo cierto tiempo, y dando cada uno á su dueño hasta veynte marcos de oro, por lo menos, y dende arriba lo que á vosotros os pareciere, segun la calidad y condicion y edad de cada uno, y á este respeto subiendo ó abasando en el tiempo y precio sus mugeres y hijos, de los que fuessen casados, quedassen libres y estuviessen dello certinidad: será bien, que entre vosotros platiques enello, dando parte á las personas que vos pareciere, que convenga y de quien se puede fiar, y me embieys vuestro parecer."—Vasco de Puga, *Provisiones Cédulas Instruciones de su Magestad: ordenanças de difuntos y audiencia, para la buena expedicion de los negocios, y administracion de justicia: y governacion desta Nueva España: y para el buen tratamiento y conservacion de los Indios, dende el año* 1525. *Hasta este presente de* 63. *En México en casa de Pedro Ocharte* 1563, fol. 20.

Puga's *Collection of Ordi-*

B. XIV. Ch. 14

should be examined to see whether they had been the victims of any fraud. There is reason to think that the orders sent out on this occasion by the Council were given by way of instructions to the several Governors in the Indies, and not by way of command,* for certainly this order about slaves was not carried into effect at that time.

In the year 1528, a less promising, but more effectual order had been written by Secretary Cobos, at the command of Charles the Fifth, to the *Audiencia* of Mexico, and to the Bishops of Mexico and Tlascala, commanding them to look very sharply, not only for the future, but into the past, as to the causes and justifications of the wars and forays that had been made in that country against the Indians. In the course of the letter the Emperor tells the Authorities that they have to take notice of the quality of the injuries which the Indians had done to justify their being declared slaves.† This searching investi-

Causes of war to be examined by Bishops of Mexico and Tlascala.

nances, printed in Mexico in 1563, in folio, is the earliest summary of Spanish colonial law, relating to the New World. It is a work of the highest rarity: there is not a copy known to exist in England. The one which I have made use of belongs to John Carter Brown, Esq., of Providence, Rhode Island, in America, who kindly sent it over to his friend, Mr. Henry Stevens, in order that I might be permitted to consult it. As far as I have been able to judge, the American collectors of books are exceedingly liberal and courteous in the use of them, and seem really to understand what the object should be in forming a great library.

* "Otro sí parece, que estos artículos ó los que se huvieren de ordenar, vayan por via de instrucion, para el Governador, ó Presidente, y no por precepto." —ANTONIO DE REMESAL, *Historia de San Vincente de Chiapa, y Guatemala*, lib. 2, cap. 5. Madrid, 1619.

† "Aveis de tener respecto á la calidad de los daños, que los

gation forms a strong contrast to the vague permission given by the celebrated *Requerimiento* used in Ferdinand's time!

The foregoing order, however, was feeble, when compared with one that was issued by Charles in the year 1530, in which he declares that, let the war between the Spaniards and the Indians be ever so just, even if it be commanded by himself, or by whoever shall have his authority, they shall not dare to capture Indians, and to hold them as slaves anywhere throughout his dominions in the Indies already discovered, or to be hereafter discovered.* This is very emphatically laid down, and is a considerable step in the uphill work of humane legislation.

No slaves to be made, even if the war be just. 1530.

It is manifest from casual notices, that for some time after the period of the last-named royal order, the official branding went on; but it is evident that the principal authorities in the Indies were resolved to discountenance the practice. Both the *Audiencia* and the Bishop of Mexico address letters to the Emperor, complaining that the official branding-iron for ransomed slaves (*hierro de rescate*) had been conceded to the Bishop of Guatemala. The

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dichos Indios hizieron, para poder ser declarados por esclavos." — PUGA, *Provisiones*, fol. 67.

* "Hasta tanto que espressamente revoquemos ó suspendamos lo contenido en esta nuestra carta haziendo espressa mincion della ningun nuestro governador ni capitan ni alcayde ni otra persona de qualquier estado diñidad y oficio y condicion que sea en tiempo de guerra, aunque sea justa y mandada hazer por nos ó por quien nuestro poder uviere sean osados de cautivar á los dichos Indios de las dichas Indias islas y tierra firme, del mar océano descubiertas ni por descubrir ni tener los por los esclavos."— PUGA, *Provisiones*, fol. 65.

B. XIV. Ch. I. *Audiencia* say that it will be the total ruin of that land (Guatemala).* The Bishop of Mexico, who appears to have been a good political economist, notices that slaves are said to be worth only two *pesos*, having been worth the preceding year forty *pesos* at Mexico;† by which he means, I think, to show that this permission to make slaves had increased the numbers, and overstocked the market.

A similar privilege of using the *hierro de rescate*, with a terrible extension of it to the *hierro de guerra*, occurs in a letter from Compostela, a place distant from Mexico two hundred and twenty leagues, where the authorities were displeased because these privileges only were conceded to them.‡

The general state of the case at this period I imagine to have been that in the more civilized places, such as Mexico, where authority trod with a firm step, Charles's orders were implicitly obeyed; for instance, that his command, given in

* "Por carta del Licenciado Marroquin Electo de Guatemala tenemos certimidad de haverse concedido el hierro de rescate para hacer esclavos. Remédiese porque será totalmente perdicion de aquella tierra."—*Al* EMPERADOR, AUDIENCIA, EPISCOPUS, SALMERON, MALDONADO, CEINOS; *México*, 5 *Agosto*, 1533. *Coleccion de* MUÑOZ, MS., tom. 79.

† "Haberse concedido hierro á Guatimala sera acabar aquella tierra. Dicen que valen los esclavos á 2 pesos valiendo el año pasado aquí á 40."—*Al* EMPERADOR, EPISCOPUS SANCTI DOMINICI; *México*, 8 *de Agosto de* 1533. *Coleccion de* MUÑOZ, MS., tom. 79.

‡ "Las Mercedes de embiarnos los hierros de rescate í de guerra son mui cortas. Son estos naturales mui bárbaros."—*Al* EMPERADOR, *Ciudad de Compostela*, ALONSO DE CASTEÑEDA ALCALDE, FRANCISCO DE VILLA. . . . , LUIS SALIDO, ESCRIVANO PEDRO RUIZ, 19 *Octubre*, 1534. *Coleccion de* MUÑOZ, MS., tom. 80.

1530, that no slave should be made, even in a just war, was obeyed, and also that the orders given by the Council of Castille, by way of instruction, were attended to, and that no slaves of ransom, even, were allowed. In more remote places, such as Guatemala, the wars between the Spaniards and the natives were under some regulations, and there were no *Indios de guerra;* whereas, in very remote and newly-settled places, the original abuses were in full force. This makes the story of these countries so difficult to tell; for, at whatever time you take it up, each of the colonies is at a different age and state of progress; and laws and ordinances which are in full vigour in one state are entirely disregarded in another.

B. XIV. Ch. 1.

The laws affecting slavery have different force in different parts of the Indies.

Indeed, throughout, in order that any amelioration might take place in the condition of the Indians, it was necessary for three things to be favourable thereto; namely, the disposition of the Spanish Court, the disposition of the rulers in the Indies to whom authority had been delegated, and thirdly, some feasibility in the circumstances of the country to which the law was to apply at the time of its coming into operation. I shall make myself better understood by giving a single instance. The Court of Spain, as will hereafter be seen, found it requisite to give minute orders respecting the tasks that should be imposed upon the Indians. On one occasion those orders came to a town which had just suffered from earthquake. The orders were, no doubt, set aside; and, being once disregarded, were probably not renewed when, in the course

Three things necessary to ensure a good law's establishment in the Indies.

B. XIV. Ch. I.

of a year or two, the circumstances would have admitted of their being carried into effect. The circumstances of Mexico were generally such as would admit of the introduction of good laws, as it had been conquered by the wise Cortes with far less devastation* than any other part of the Indies; and LAS CASAS himself admits that the state of the Indians there was better than anywhere else.

The last notice which I find of anything concerning slaves, before the promulgation of those decrees emphatically called the New Laws, in 1542, was a royal order, given at Toledo, in 1538, by which no Spaniard was allowed to buy or have any slave of the Indians, and no cacique was allowed to make slaves, or sell them. This did not apply to the slaves which the Spaniards already possessed.

No Spaniard allowed to buy an Indian slave. 1538.

Thus rested this branch of the subject until the year 1542.

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* There is an admirable note on this subject by LORENZANA, the Archbishop of Mexico, in his edition of the *Letters of Cortes*, where, speaking of the Indians, he says:—"Son los Labradores de la Tierra, sin ellos quedaria sin cultivo, y el motivo de embiarse tanta Riqueza de Nueva-España, es porque hay Indios: Nueva-España mantiene con Situados á las Islas Philipinas, que en lo ameno es un Paraiso terrenal; á la Isla de Cuba, y Plaza de la Habana, no obstante que abunda de mucho azúcar, y Cacao: á la Isla de Puerto-Rico, que parece la mas fértil de toda la América, y á otras Islas: últimamente la Flota, que sale de Vera-Cruz para España, es la mas interesada de todo el Mundo en crecida suma de Moneda, y todo esto, en mi concepto es, por que hay Indios, y en Cuba, y Puerto-Rico no, y quanto mas se cuide de tener arraigados, y propagados á los Indios; tanto mas crecerá el Haber Real, el Comercio, las Minas, y todos los Estados, porque la Tilma del Indio á todos cubre."—LORENZANA, p. 319, note.

CHAPTER II.

NATURE OF ENCOMIENDAS RE-STATED—HISTORY OF ENCOMIENDAS RESUMED FROM THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO—ORIGINAL PLAN OF CORTES—JUNTA, IN 1523, FORBIDS ENCOMIENDAS—MEANWHILE CORTES HAD GRANTED ENCOMIENDAS—PONCE DE LEON COMES TO MEXICO AS JUDGE OF RESIDENCIA—HIS INSTRUCTIONS ABOUT ENCOMIENDAS—THE QUESTION NOT DETERMINED, ON ACCOUNT OF THE UNSETTLED STATE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF MEXICO.

HAVING now disengaged the main subject from the various important adjuncts which beset it, we may proceed, with more ease, to consider the history of the *encomienda* system, taken strictly by itself. Referring again to what might have been seen, by an observant person, in the Indies at any time within fifty years after the Conquest, he would have been sure to notice certain bands of Indians who were more closely connected together than the slaves, either of ransom or of war, whose fate, up to the year 1542, we have just been tracing. After any conquest in the Indies that was not ferociously mismanaged (as was the case in the Terra-Firma), the Indians remained in the *pueblos*, or villages. There, according to the theory of *encomiendas*, quoted above, they were to live, paying tribute to their *encomenderos*, who,

Nature of *encomiendas*.

B. XIV. Ch. 2.

theoretically, stood in the place of the King, and were to receive this tribute from the Indians, as from his vassals. But such a state of things would ill have suited with the requirements of the Spaniards. Money is the most convenient thing to receive in a civilized community; but in an infant colony, personal services are most in requisition. Accordingly, these are what were at once demanded from the Indians; and, in order that this demand might consist with the maintenance of these Indian *pueblos*, it was necessary that a portion of the native community should, for certain periods of the year, quit their homes, and, betaking themselves to the service of the Spaniards, work out the tribute for themselves and for the rest of the Indian village. This was called *repartimiento*.* In the words of the greatest jurist who has written on this subject, ANTONIO DE LEON, "*Repartimiento*, in New Spain, is that which is made every week of the Indians who are given for mines and works by the judges for that purpose (*los Juezes Repartidores*), for which the *pueblos* contribute, throughout twenty weeks of the year, what they call the *dobla* (a Spanish coin), at the rate of ten Indians for every hundred; and the remainder of the year what they call the *sencilla* (another Spanish coin), at the rate of two Indians for every hundred. The above rate was for works, and cultivation of land. When it was

Personal services: a branch of the *encomienda* system.

* This is the second meaning of the word *repartimiento* in Mexico. The first was the original partition of the Indians after conquest, by the chief captain, or by the authorities sent from Spain.

for mines, to work at which particular *pueblos* were set aside, it was a contribution for the whole year, at the rate of four Indians for every hundred."*

The *encomienda*, with this form of repartition attached to it, corresponds to nothing in feudality or vassalage, and may be said to have been a peculiar institution, growing out of the novel circumstances in the New World. The history of the *encomienda* constitutes the greatest part of the history of the bulk of the people in the New World for many generations.

Questions arising from this peculiar institution—the *encomienda*.

To any one who has much knowledge of civil life, or of history, it will be obvious how many questions will arise from such a strange and hitherto unheard-of arrangement of labour. What distance will these Indians be carried from their homes? Will there be a sufficient number left to provide for the sustenance of the native community? Will the population of those communities be maintained? How will it be managed that the repartition should be fair? for, if otherwise, the same Indians may be sent over and over again, and, in fact, be different in no respect from slaves. Then, again, these services are to go for

* "I es la causa, que *Repartimiento* en aquella tierra, se llama el que se haze cada semana, de los Indios, que se dan para minas í labranças, por los Juezes Repartidores, que ay nombrados en los partidos: para lo qual contribuyen los pueblos; las veinte semanas del año, que llaman de dobla, á razon de diez Indios por ciento, í las demas, que llaman de sencilla, á razon de dos por ciento, esto para la labrança í cultura: que si es para minas, á que ay aplicados pueblos particulares, es la contribucion todo el año, á razon de quatro Indios por ciento." — ANTONIO DE LEON, *Confirmaciones Reales*, parte I, cap. I.

B. XIV. Ch. 2.

tribute. Who is to assign the value of the services, or the rate of the tribute? More subtle questions still remain to be considered, if not solved. Shall the tax be a capitation tax, so many *pesos* for each Indian, or shall it be a certain sum for each *pueblo?* If the former is adopted, shall the women and children be liable? Shall overwork be allowable, so that the bands of Indians in *repartimiento* may not only work out their own taxes, and the taxes of their little community, but bring back some small *peculium* of their own which will render them especially welcome when they return to their friends and families? All these problems, and others which I have not indicated, were eventually worked out by a course of laborious and consistent legislation, to which, I believe, the world has never seen any parallel, and which must have a very considerable place in any history, aiming to be complete, that may hereafter be written, of slavery, or colonization. At the first, everything was as vague in this matter as oppression could desire; and oppression loves vagueness as its favourite element.

History of *encomiendas* resumed from the Conquest of Mexico.

In the course of this history it has been seen what was done by the earliest discoverers and conquerors in respect to *encomiendas;** and therefore it will only be necessary to begin at the point of time when Cortes had completed his audacious

* See *ante*, vol. 1, b. 2, ch. 2, pp. 145, 152, 163, 173; b. 3, ch. 1, p. 197; ch. 2, pp. 222, 260; b. 5, ch. 1, p. 296; b. 6, ch. 2, p. 377; b. 8, ch. 1, pp. 468, 482; ch. 2, pp. 504, 514; vol. 2, b. 9, ch. 1, pp. 44, 55

conquest of Mexico. Cortes was a statesman as well as a soldier: he had lived in Cuba, and knew well the destruction of the Indians which had gone on there, and in the rest of the West India Islands. Moreover, as men are prone to love and magnify anything in which they have been greatly concerned, he was inclined to rate the Mexican Indians much more highly than those of the islands; and, in the first mention that he makes of this subject, the repartition of the Indians, in his letters to Charles the Fifth, he indicates a project, which, if it could have been adopted, would have been the salvation of those parts of the world. He says that, considering the capacity of the Mexican Indians, "it appeared to him a grave thing to compel them to sèrve the Spaniards in the manner in which those of the other islands had been compelled."* But then the Spanish conquerors must be maintained and rewarded; and this necessity he had wished to provide for out of the revenues which belonged to the King in the Indies. But, afterwards, when he came to consider the great expense which His Majesty had already been put to, the long time the war had lasted, the debts which the Spanish soldiers had contracted, the long time it would be before His Majesty could order anything of the kind which Cortes had at first wished, and, above all, the great importunity of His Majesty's civil servants, and of all the Spaniards (in just or unjust causes

Original plan of Cortes not carried into effect.

* "Me parecia cosa grave, por entonces, compelerles á que sirviessen á los Españoles de la manera que los de las otras Islas."—LORENZANA, p. 319.

B. XIV. Ch. 2.

how sure an advocate is importunity!), and that he could in no way excuse himself, he was, as he says, almost forced to place in deposit to the Spaniards the lords and natives of those provinces. This was the beginning of the *encomienda* in Mexico; and, as the most important communication Cortes had then to make, he puts it last in his letter, dated from the city of Cuyoacan, the 15th of May, 1522.

First *encomienda* in New Spain. 1522.

It is very much to be regretted that Cortes was not able to execute his first plan for the benefit of the natives, especially as Mexico was civilized, and abounded in shops and markets, and in a people willing and accustomed to work for money, so that personal services might have been more easily dispensed with. The Spaniards, too, must already have had many slaves made in the course of the war.

But such good fortune was not to be for these devoted lands. Poverty is a dreadful conqueror, and those who are likely to be vanquished should ever pray,—first, that their conquerors should be of the same race with themselves; and next, that they should come from a rich and well-established country, so that their armies may be accompanied by a good commissariat, and heavy military chests. There are many countries where the inhabitants in modern times can sympathize with these poor Indians in being overrun by bands of ill-fed, ill-paid, ragged, thriftless, indebted men, who cannot, in any way, afford to be just or merciful. Thus, too, the wrong-doing of Cortes, in stealing away to con-

Poverty of the conquerors fatal to the conquered.

quest, as he did, and so cutting himself off from regular supplies, and the support of established government, comes to be worked out, as mostly happens, upon other people; and thus, at the same time, was marred one of the most splendid opportunities for a conqueror, when religion and a far higher civilization might have been intertwined with all that was already good in the conquered country, instead of room being found for these great blessings by a destruction and a desolation in which they were unhappily made to appear as participators.

This failure of the original great design of Cortes is peculiarly provoking, as, if it had been adopted in New Spain, it would have been favourably received in the mother country; for the Indies were, at this period (1522), relieved from the weight which had pressed upon them for nearly thirty years, in the administration of the Bishop of Burgos. The Bishop had taken a warm part against Cortes. The cause of Cortes had been laid before Pope Adrian, when he was Cardinal Adrian and Regent of Spain. The Cardinal pronounced against the Bishop; and finally, the affairs of Cortes were referred to a great Council, at which the Grand Chancellor Gattinara and Monsieur de la Chaux* assisted. The Council decided in favour of Cortes; and, in a dispatch dated at Valladolid, the 15th of October, 1522, he was named Governor and Captain-General

The cause of Cortes prevails at Court.

* The Laxao, or Laxaos, of the Spanish historians.

B. XIV. Ch. 2.

of New Spain.* Gomara states that on the same occasion power was given to Cortes to divide New Spain into *encomiendas*.†

The Bishop of Burgos dies.

The Bishop of Burgos retired from Court discontented, and died shortly afterwards. His character, which is not an uncommon one in any times, was hard, severe, faithful, tenacious, conservative. He was one of the most unfit men in the world to deal with new things, which require pliancy, and force of imagination. He was succeeded in the presidency of the Council of the Indies by Garcia de Loaysa, who had been General of the Dominican Order, and was now Bishop of Osma, and Confessor to the Emperor. The Bishop was a good man, very devoted to the Emperor's interests, and perfectly fearless in giving advice to him. I cannot more briefly indicate his character as a counsellor than by giving the following passage from one of his letters to the Emperor, dated the 20th of December, 1530. "Sire, I entreat Your Majesty not to eat of those dishes which are injurious to you; all the world knows that fish disagrees with your chest; for God's sake remember that your life is not your own, but should be preserved for the sake of others. If Your Majesty chooses to destroy your own property, you should not endanger what belongs to *us*.

His character.

His successor, the Bishop of Osma.

Bishop of Osma's character.

"Be assured that I write in much distress,

* For an interesting account of this Junta, see Francisco Diego de Sayas, *Anales de Aragon*, cap. 78. Also, Herrera, *Hist. de las Indias*, dec. 3, lib. 4, cap. 3.

† See Gomara, *Crónica de la Nueva-España*, cap. 165.

for I am informed that *your chest is sometimes heard further off than your tongue* (meaning that he coughs more than he speaks). I once wished Your Majesty to do some penance for old sins; if you will change this injunction into a firm resistance against gluttony, it will be to you as meritorious as flint and scourge. May God strengthen Your Majesty, according his grace, and bless you in spiritual and temporal matters: Amen."* B. XIV. Ch. 2.

The Bishop of Osma's influence is to be seen, as I imagine,† in the next important step taken as regards the administration of the Indies. Charles the Fifth ordered a junta to be formed of learned men, theologians, and jurists (*Letrados, Teologos, í Juristas*), where the difficult question of *encomiendas* was again considered. The Emperor was at that time holding the *Cortes* at Valladolid, and there appears to have been a petition on this subject from the representative

A junta in 1523 forbade *encomiendas.*

* Bradford's *Correspondence of the Emperor Charles V.*, part 3, p. 365. London, 1850.

† "La ausencia que hizo el Cesar de los Reynos de España á recebir la Corona del Imperio, y las inquietudes que por ella se causaron en ellos, y la poca aficion con que don Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca Obispo de Burgos, que despachava los negocios de Indias, mostró á las cosas de don Fernando Cortés, por las quexas que dél dava el Adelantado Diego Velazquez, fueron causa que este negocio de embiar Religiosos á la Nueva España, no se despachasse con la brevedad que convenia, hasta que muerto el Obispo de Burgos, se encomendó el despacho de las cosas de las Indias á don fray Garcia de Loaysa de la Órden de Santo Domingo, y que avia sido su Mestro General, que á la sazon era Obispo de Osma, y Confessor del Emperador. Y aunque no tomó la possession del oficio de Presidente de Consejo de Indias, hasta los dos de Agosto de mil y quinientos y veynte y quatro, desde el año antes de veynte y tres procuró las cosas de la Religion de Nueva España."—Remesal, *Hist. de Chiapa y Guatemala*, lib. 1, cap. 5.

B. XIV. Ch. 2.

body, with an answer to it stating that the Indians could not be given in *encomienda*, or in any other way; and, accordingly, a letter was written to Cortes stating that, "since God, our Lord, created the Indians free, we cannot command that they should be given in *encomienda*."* Las Casas, in an address to the Emperor many years after, reminds His Majesty that Cortes had been commanded to revoke all that he had done in this matter; "but the sinner, for his own interest, did not like to do it, and Your Majesty thought always that it had been done, all people concealing the truth from Your Majesty."† It would have been very

* "Esta permission, ó forma de repartir, se continuó hasta el año de mil í quinientos í veinte í tres; que estando el Emperador don Cárlos en las Cortes de Valladolid, á instancia de algunos Religiosos, por estar ya descubierta la Nueva-España, y ser conveniente, que en sus Provincias, por ser muchas, í muy pobladas, se introduxesse í ordenasse lo que mas justificado pareciesse, mandó hazer junta de Letrados, Teólogos, í Juristas, donde disputado de nuevo el punto de las Encomiendas, salió resuelto, que no se podian dar, ni repartir Indios, por este, ni por otro título: de lo qual ay una peticion con esta respuesta en aquellas Cortes: í por ella se despachó órden á don Fernando Cortés, para que no los repartiesse, ni encomendasse. I la razon que la Real cédula expressa es, que haziendo relacion de la dicha Junta, dize: *Pareció, que Nos, con buenas conciencias, pues Dios nuestro Señor crió los dichos Indios libres, í no sujetos, no podemos mandarlos encomendar, ni hazer repartimiento dellos á los Cristianos, í ansí es nuestra voluntad que se cumpla.*" — Antonio de Leon, *Confirmaciones Reales*, parte 1, cap. 1.

† "Y el pecador por su proprio interesse no lo quizo hazer; y vuestra Magestad pensó siempre que lo havia hecho, encubriendo todos á vuestra Magestad la verdad."—Las Casas, *Entre los Remedios que Don Fray Bartholome de Las Casas, Obispo de la Ciudad Real de Chiapa, refirió por mandado del Emperador Rey nuestro señor, en los ayuntamientos que mandó hazer su Magestad de Prelados, y Letrados, y personas grandes en Valladolid el año de mil é quinientos y quarenta y dos, para reformacion de las Indias*, Razon 19, p. 205. Seville, 1552.

difficult, however, for Cortes to have revoked the orders he had already given on this subject; and, in a letter to the Emperor, dated the 15th of October, 1524, he says that he has made certain ordinances, of which he sends a copy to His Majesty. The copy has been lost, but the orders manifestly related to this subject of *encomiendas*. He intimates that the Spaniards are not very well satisfied with these orders, especially with one which prevented absenteeism, compelling them, to use the strong expression of Cortes, "to root themselves in the land."* He seems to have been aware that these ordinances rather contradicted what he had formerly said to the Emperor: for, after advising their confirmation, he adds, that for new events there are new opinions and counsels; "and, if in some of those things which I have said, or shall hereafter say to Your Majesty, it shall appear to you that I contradict some of my past opinions, let Your Excellency believe that a new state of things makes me give a different opinion."

The prohibition not enforced by Cortes.

Thus was the question of *encomiendas* in Mexico again unsettled; and there were, as usual, various opinions about it. Meanwhile, the opinion of the Valladolid Junta was adopted in instructions sent out to places of minor importance; and, as regards Mexico, when Ponce de Leon was

Question still unsettled when Ponce de Leon came in 1526.

* "De algunas de ellas los Españoles, que en estas partes residen, no estan muy satisfechos, en especial de aquellas, que los obligan á arraigarse en la Tierra, porque todos, ó los mas, tienen pensamientos de se haber con estas Tierras, como se han habido con las Islas, que antes se poblaron, que es esquilmarlas, y destruirlas, y despues dejarlas." —LORENZANA, p. 397.

B. XIV. Ch. 2.

sent out in 1526 to take a *residencia* of Cortes he was ordered to consult with the Governor, with religious persons, and with men of experience, on the subject of *encomiendas;* and also as to what tribute the Indians should pay. In case he should determine that the Indians were to be given in *encomienda*, he should then consider whether they should remain as they were, or be given as vassals, or by way of fief.* If, on the other hand, he determined that the Indians should remain free, paying to the King that which they paid to their former lords, he was to see what could possibly be done in the way of sufficient reward to the Spaniards who had conquered the country.

Unsettled state of the Government of Mexico.

The instructions given to Ponce de Leon led to no result. To understand the cause of this failure it is requisite to recount the state of political affairs at Mexico. No man can do the great things that Cortes did, and arrive rapidly at such power as he obtained, without becoming the subject of envy, especially with more regularly constituted and hereditary authorities. Accordingly we find that at this time, and for many years

* "Í al Licenciado Luis Ponce de Leon, que fué á tomar la residencia á don Fernando Cortés, se le dió por instruccion que con el Governador, í con personas religiosas, í de experiencia, platicasse sobre el encomendar los Indios, í sobre los tributos, que avian de pagar; porque sobre esto avia mucha diversidad de pareceres, í avisasse de lo que hallasse: í que en caso que pareciesse, que los Indios devian quedar encomendados, platicasse, si seria bien, que quedassen como entonces estavan, ó si seria mejor, que se diessen por vasallos, como los que tienen los Cavalleros destos Reynos, ó por via de feudo."—ANTONIO DE LEON, *Confirmaciones Reales*, parte 1, cap. 1. See also HERRERA, *Hist. de las Indias*, dec. 3, lib. 8, cap. 14.

afterwards, the power of Cortes was a matter which excited the jealous apprehensions of the Spanish Court. In those days, when publicity was more difficult than it is now, injurious rumours about a man did not come so easily to that point at which they may be publicly denied. Nor were there the ready means of publicly denying them. That Cortes had buried Montezuma's gold, that he took upon himself almost regal state, and that his fidelity was dubious, were prevalent reports in Spain; and Ponce de Leon carried out with him secret instructions to investigate the accusations against Cortes, and, if he found them true, to send him a prisoner to Spain. If not true, Cortes was to receive the appointment of Captain-General.

Ponce de Leon's arrival, July, 1526.

One morning in July of the year 1526, Ponce de Leon arrived at Mexico, and was received by Cortes with all the proper demonstrations of respect.

After the ceremonies which have already been described* had taken place, the *Residencia* was proclaimed by a herald stating that whoever felt himself aggrieved should now make his complaint. What confusion such a proclamation must have created in a Government so unprecedented as that of Cortes, may be imagined: and I cannot but think that this practice of taking *residencias*, apparently a very plausible one, was wholly inapplicable to the government of the Indies. Had the Indians themselves been able

Residencias in the Indies.

* Book xii., p. 61.

B. XIV. Ch. 2.

to lodge their complaints against the Spanish conquerors, it might have been some protection for them, but we never hear of their being allowed to come into Court; and the facility of making complaints against the Governor, which these *residencias* afforded, must have rendered him, unless a very stern man, singularly pliable to the wishes of his captains, the very men against whom he had to protect the Indians. Had Cortes resisted the "importunity" before alluded to, would he not have had additional enemies to dread at this *residencia?*

NOTE.—Referring to p. 134, it appears that the number of Indians taken out of any *pueblo* for mines, public works, and agriculture, is not very great. But the truth is, that these proportions were probably not maintained, and that more Indians were demanded, and kept for a longer time, than the law allowed. As might be expected, there is very little direct evidence on this head. I have, however, a copy of a letter (which is in the Muñoz collection) addressed to the King by an obscure monk, who was not in any official position, and whom pity and Christian charity alone induced to write.

"Aunque ni mi bajeza de lugar para escrivir á Vuestra Alteza ni yo de oficio sea á ello obligado, por ser un Religioso simple, pero porque sé que segun lo que son V. S. por si mismos i por lo que los toca por la representacion que tienen i en el lugar en que estan, i que desean ser informados de las cosas de esta tierra, i aun tambien por la lastima que yo della i de su perdicion tengo, i por lo que la ley de cristiano i religioso de la orden de Santo Domingo me obliga aunque como digo no haya porque yo pueda escribir."—FRAY DOMINGO DE SANTO TOMAS *al* REY, *Col. de Muñoz*, tom. 85.

His letter is dated 1550. He lived in Peru, and he says that in ten years, one half, or even two-thirds, "of men, cattle, and the works of men" had been destroyed—". . . hoy ha diez años que ha que yo entré in ella, hasta ahora no hai al presente la mitad i de muchas cosas dellas ni aun de tres partes la una, sino que todo se ha acabado."

This destruction was greatly owing to the wars in Peru; but in the course of the letter, the monk gives an elaborate account of the horrible sufferings and privations of the Indians in the mines of Potosi; and his conclusion is, that none of the Indians who were

taken in *repartimiento* to work at these mines, returned to their own country. — "*Se mueren los pobres como animales sin dueño, . . . los que de esto se escapan jamas buelben a sus tierras.*"

The mines at Potosi may have been, and probably were, especially ill managed; but similar causes must have ensured similar results throughout the Spanish possessions, and a recurring series of deaths must have made the *repartimiento* a much more fatal burden than it appears to be, according to its legal definition.

That the mines in New Spain were also very fatal to the natives of that country appears from the evidence of Father Motolinia, before cited.

In the description which he gives of the "ninth plague," he dwells much upon the loss of life amongst the Indians employed "in the service of the mines." They came from seventy leagues and upwards, he says, bringing provisions, and whatever was needful. And when they had arrived, the Spanish mine-masters would detain them for several days, to do some specific work, such as blasting a rock or completing a building. The provisions they had brought for themselves were soon exhausted; and then the poor wretches had to starve, for no one would give them food, and they had no money to buy it. The result of all this atrocity and mismanagement was, that some died on their way to the mines; some at the mines; some on their way back; some (and these were most to be pitied) just after they had reached home. "*Volvian tales que luego se morian.*"

The number of deaths was so great, that the corpses bred pestilence; and mentioning one particular mine, Motolinia affirms that, for half a league round it, and for a great part of the road to it, you could scarcely make a step except upon dead bodies or the bones of men. The birds of prey coming to feed upon these corpses darkened the sun. "*Y destos, y de los esclavos que murieron en las minas fué tanto el hedor que causó pestilencia, en especial en las minas de Guaxacan, en las quales media legua á la redonda y mucha parte del camino apenas se podia pisar sino sobre hombres ó sobre huesos. Y eran tantas las aves y cuervos que venian á comer sobre los cuerpos muertos que hazian gran sombra á el sol.*"—MOTOLINIA'S LETTER (1541) to DON ANTONIO PIMENTEL. MS.

CHAPTER III.

MEANING OF THE WORD RESIDENCIA—ORIGIN OF THE PRACTICE OF TAKING RESIDENCIAS IN CASTILLE AND ARAGON—THE GOOD AND EVIL OF RESIDENCIAS.

B. XIV. Ch. 3.

AS several of the personages of greatest note in the early history of the Indies had to suffer under a process of impeachment (which appears strange to our eyes, from its frequency and regularity) called a *residencia*, and as the practice of instituting such impeachments reached its utmost development in the Spanish colonial possessions, it becomes necessary to endeavour to understand the origin and nature of a *residencia*.

Residencia a process of impeachment.

Origin of the word.

The derivation of the word is simple enough. The judge or governor subjected to this kind of impeachment was compelled, on laying down his office, or being deposed from it, to reside for a certain term at the chief place where he had exercised his functions. This enforced residence, being one of the most obvious facts connected with the process, gave the name to it.

It occurs in the *Theodosian Code.*

The first instance that I have met with of the word *reside* being used in the secondary sense of investigating, or taking a *residencia*, is to be found in the *Theodosian Code.** From thence it would na-

* "*Residere* dicuntur de re quapiam cognoscentes Judices." —*Glossarium Nomicum Codicis Theodosiani.*

turally make its appearance in the Visi-gothic codes, which combined the Visi-gothic and the Roman law.

Throughout the early records of Spanish legislation a steady and uniform distrust of judges may be traced. In the *Fuero Juzgo*,* a Visi-gothic code, to the original of which the year 700 is assigned as a probable date, there is careful provision made for a remedy against unjust judges;† and, in a spirit which shows there must have been considerable liberty, it is decreed that the judgment which had been given by command of the King, or through fear, if it be a wrong judgment, is not to have any force.‡

Something similar to a *residencia* in Aragon. 1467.

It is said that King Ferdinand the Catholic brought this "remedy" of the *residencia* from Aragon.§ It is curious, however, that the word *residencia* does not, as far as I have seen, occur in the summary of the *fueros* of Aragon. But a

"Quicumque residentibus Sacerdotibus fuerit Episcopali loco detrusus et nomine, si aliquid vel contra custodiam vel contra quietem publicam moliri fuerit deprehensus, rursusque Sacerdotium petere, a quo videtur expulsus, procul ab ea Urbe quam infecit, secundum legem Divæ memoriæ Gratiani, centum milibus vitam agat: Sit ab eorum cœtibus separatus, a quorum est Societate discretus." — *Codex Theodosianus*, lib. 16, tit. 2, sec. 35.

* A corruption from *Forum Judicum*.

† "Et todo ome que dize, que á el iudez por sospechoso, sis quisiere dél querellar mas adelantre, pues quel pleyto fuere acabado. é complido, puede apellar antel principe aquel iudez. Et si el iudez fuere provado, ó el obispo que iutgó tuerto, lo que mandáron tomar á aquel á quien lo iutgáron, sea todo entregado, y el iudez le entregue otro tanto de lo so, porque iutgó tuerto et el iudicio demas sea desfecho."—*Fuero Juzgo*, lib. 2, tit. 1, sec. 22. Madrid, 1815.

‡ "Que iuyzio que es dado por mandado del rey ó por miedo, si es tortizero, que non vala."—*Fuero Juzgo*, lib. 2, tit. 1, sec. 27.

§ "Cuio remedio el Rei Católico D. Fernando V. traxo de Aragon."—HERRERA, *Hist. de las Indias*, dec. 5, lib. 5, cap. 5.

B. XIV. Ch. 3.

spirit of inquiry into judicial proceedings, and a mode of doing so resembling the spirit and mode of taking *residencias* adopted in Castille, are visible in a law passed in 1467, which has reference to the office of the Justiciary of Aragon.* In this law the formidable word "denunciation" appears, instead of the mild term of *residencia*.

Residencia in Castille as connected with the office of *corregidor*. 1380.

In Castille the whole process is clearly exemplified in the body of laws which relate to the office of *corregidor*. It appears that it had been usual for the judge to remain fifty days in the place where he had been principally engaged in giving judgments, in order that his *residencia* might be taken; and the object of the sixth law relating to *corregidors* is, to change that time from fifty to thirty days, and, by sequestrating a part of their salary, to ensure their remaining in the place until they had undergone the process of *residencia*.† The date of this law is as early

* "Forum inquisitionis officii Justitiæ Aragonum," 7 et 8.—"Que los inquisidores del dicho officio sean tenidos en cada un año el primero de Abril estar en la ciudad de Çaragoça personalmente: y en el dicho mes de Abril y Mayo é ocho dias del mes de Iunio siguient en la dicha ciudad, en las casas de la Diputacion del Reyno exercir sus officios, en esta manera: Que qualquier persona, collegio, universidad del dicho Reyno, excepto nos ó nuestro procurador Fiscal é substituydos de aquel que pretenda ser agraviado por alguno de los sobredichos, haya de dar su denunciacion ordenada en romance, y el processo que se hará tambien en romance."—*Summa de todos los Fueros y Observancias del Reyno de Aragon, y Determinaciones de micer* MIGUEL DEL MOLINO, lib. 3, p. 99, Çaragoça, 1589. This work is to be found in the well-chosen library of an accomplished Spanish scholar, Mr. Stirling, of Keir, who has thrown new light upon Spanish history and Spanish art.

† "Como quier que segun derecho, y segun leyes de nuestros reynos los juezes y corregidores de las nuestras ciudades, villas y lugares de los nuestros reynos, desque dexan y salen de los officios han de estar cincuenta dias para hazer residencia y cumplir de derecho á los que-

as 1380, and it refers to the practice as an established one. Taking the above law in connexion with another that relates to *veedores* and *visitadores*, it is easy to understand the whole system. In this law the King and Queen declare that "right reason it is that they should know how their subjects are governed," and they proceed to say that they shall depute in each year "discreet persons of good conscience" to go to every town and see how justice is administered and how the matters of government are conducted.*

Again, in the ensuing law, it is provided that the King should depute a person of the Court to "solicit" those of his council and the judges that they should do justice.†

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rellosos, y pagar los daños que han hecho en quanto tomaron y han usado de los dichos officios. . . . . Y mudando el término de la dicha residencia mandamos que la faga de treynta dias y no mas." —*Ordenanças reales de Castilla; por las quales primeramente se han de librar los pleytos civiles y criminales.* (El Rey y Reyna en Toledo, año 1380.) Ley 6, *del tiempo que han de hazer residencia á los corregidores que fenescieren sus officios*, lib. 2, tit. 16. *De los corregidores.* Alcalá de Henares, 1565. This work also is to be found in Mr. Stirling's library.

* (El Rey y Reyna en Toledo, año de 1380.) Ley 2, que se guarde la ley antes desta, y que cosas pueden y deven hazer los tales visitadores.

"Justa razon es que nos sepamos como nuestros súbditos son governados, porque podamos remediar con tiempo las cosas que ovieren menester remedio, mayormente pues á Dios gracias los súbditos son muchos, i repartidos en muchas tierras i provincias de diversas qualidades i condiciones: i porque á nos conviene especialmente saber los regidores governadores: i officiales públicos de nuestros reynos, como viven y en que manera exercitan i administran sus officios."—*Ordenanças Reales de Castilla*, lib. 2, tit. 17. *De los veedores y visitadores.*

† "Ley 3, que el Rey depute en su corte uno que solicite á los del consejo, y á los juezes que fagan justicia." — *Ordenanças Reales de Castilla*, lib. 2, tit. 17. *De los veedores y visitadores.*

B. XIV. Ch. 3.

More ample research would probably enable us to trace this institution of the *residencia* from the earliest periods of the Visi-gothic monarchy downwards. The Spanish jurists, however, of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries would not be contented with such a comparatively recent origin; and, according to one of the best writers on Spanish colonial law, the practice of taking *residencias* commences in the Book of Genesis, and is continued through the Old to the New Testament.*

The practice of taking *residencias* would vary according to the temper of the monarch.

This method of investigating the conduct of judges and magistrates, upon their ceasing to hold office, would, naturally, be much or little exercised, according to the temper of the King and the political state of the kingdom. It is not surprising that a cautious and prudent monarch, like Ferdinand the Catholic, should have caused *residencias* to be frequently taken of his principal officers. His compeer, Henry the Seventh of England, would have exercised this royal privilege, had he possessed it, in no sparing manner. And Louis the Eleventh of France would have caused one continuous *residencia* to

* "El qual juizio de visita tiene su apoyo, en lo que de Dios se refiere en el Génesis, quando, hablando á nuestro modo, dixo, que queria baxar, i ver si era cierto el clamor, que avia llegado á sus oidos. I tambien aluden á él algunos Textos, que dizen que una de las mas proprias, í precisas obligaciones del Príncipe, es, ver, í procurar, que sus súbditos no sean agraviados, ni mal tratados por los juezes, í oficiales, que les han diputado, para que los librassen de estos agravios, í vexaciones."—SOLÓRZANO, *Política Indiana*, lib. 5, cap. 10, p. 839.

"I nos la mostraron con su exemplo Samuel, í Christo Señor nuestro, ordenando, que aun á qualquier criado, ó mayordomo se le puede, i debe pedir la mesma razon."—*Ut supra*, p. 837.

be taken of any of his principal officers who had been for a few months out of his sight.

Various modes of checking injustice in judges and magistrates.

An eminent Spanish jurist (Castillo de Bobadilla), who has written largely on the subject of the *residencia*, discusses the various modes which have been taken to insure the sound administration of justice. Cosmo, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, had secret spies who informed him how his magistrates conducted themselves, which appears to the jurist a better way than that of taking a *residencia*, for a public visitor, he thinks, is more easily suborned than two spies; and, moreover, the expense of the Grand Duke's mode of proceeding is less.*

By spies.

By public journeys of the prince.

Other princes have made the circuit of their kingdom themselves; amongst whom, according to the jurist, the Emperor Trajan stands pre-eminent.

By observations in disguise.

Ariperto, King of the Lombards, a stern executor of justice (*muy justiciero*), was in the habit of disguising himself, to learn what was said of himself and of his ministers, and was thus, in some measure, his own spy.

By wise instructions in writing.

Tiberius Cæsar, "sedately and minutely," gave instructions to his judges, "as also do the Dukes of Venice." Augustus Cæsar noted all the wise

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* ". . . . lo qual me parece mejor que los Visitadores, porque un Visitador público se soborna mas fácilmente que dos secretos; demas de que suelen ser de gran gasto al Príncipe, ó á los Pueblos; lo qual no es en las espías, que no se conocen, ni quieren ser conocidas."—Castillo de Bovadilla, *Política para Corregidores, y Señores de Vasallos, en tiempo de Paz, y de Guerra.* tom. 2, lib. 5, cap. 1. *Quien puede, y debe tomar Residencia á las Justicias Ordinarias.* Madrid, 1775.

B. XIV. Ch. 3.

sayings in books which touched upon good government, and sent copies of these sayings to his magistrates.

The jurist, proceeding to consider the practice of his own monarchs, states that the Catholic Princes, Ferdinand and Isabella, commanded, that, after a *corregidor*,* should come a judge of *residencia*, who should hold the office of *corregidor* for ten or twelve months;† and adds, that in the jurist's own times (which were those of Philip the Third) the system of taking *residencias* had been extended to the utmost limits of the kingdom.

The *residencia* an institution for the people.

It is very curious to observe that the jurist seems to have lost some part of the primitive idea of the *residencia*, which was, that the people aggrieved by the judge, or who thought themselves aggrieved, should have a ready means of making their grievances known, and find an opportunity for appeal brought home to their doors. The *residencia* was a relic of freedom. The jurist mainly considers it as a privilege of kings.

Residencias much used in the colonies of Spain.

It is obvious that, when once the Spanish monarchs had gained colonial possessions, the *residencia* would become one of their principal means of action. It would serve to bring their colonial subjects and themselves into occasional unison: it would always leave some room for the

* The ordinary duration of the *corregidor's* office was two years.

† "Que tras un Corregidor fuese un Juez de Residencia Letrado, el qual hacia el Oficio de Corregidor diez, ó doce meses." —BOVADILLA, *Política para Corregidores*, tom. 2, lib. 5, cap. 1, p. 491.

King's power to be felt and feared; and, accordingly, it occupies an important part in the legislation specially framed for the Indies.*

Merits and demerits of *residencias.*

The merits and demerits of this practice of taking a *residencia*, admit of much discussion and dispute. It can hardly be doubted that some of the enormous abuses which have grown up in the legal system of modern states could not have been maintained, if the suffering suitors had, year after year, possessed such ready means for making their wrongs known and felt, as these *residencias* afforded. On the other hand, it must be remembered that the even hand of justice may be disturbed by fear as well as by fraud. There is an expression in one of the Spanish jurists which indicates the great objection to which *residencias* were liable on this head. He says that, during these visitations, the magistrates become timid (*los magistrades se acobardan*). And this is but a small part of the danger; for the cowardice in question, except in the case of very great or very just men, must have been preying upon them from their first entry into office. An apprehension of the weight of calumny to be let loose at some time or other in a *residencia* must have oppressed and scared them, like an evil phantom sitting by their sides, on the seat of judgment, and must have made them apt to think of something else besides justice. The jurist before quoted declares, that in his experience, good judges have run

A ready means for making wrongs known.

But likely to render judges timid.

* See Recopilacion de Leyes *de los Reynos de las Indias, mandadas imprimir y publicar por la Magestad Católica del Rey Don Carlos II. Nuestro Señor.* Madrid, 1791.

B. XIV. Ch. 3.

more risk than bad judges.* A viceroy of Peru, who had doubtless suffered from one of these residentiary visits, compares it to one of the hurricanes known in the New World, which sweeps from the streets and market-places every kind of dust and dirt and refuse, and heaps it upon the devoted heads of those who have to endure the tempest.† The good and brave man faced the hurricane, as became his honest consciousness of right, while the cunning, prudent men ("*hijos del siglo*," the jurist calls them) were likely to have provided by wrong-doing some shifty covering for themselves.

The attendants of a judge of *residencia* very noxious.

One great evil connected with the system of *residencias* was, that the judge who came to hold the *residencia* was attended by a set of harpies, in the shape of clerks, who were prone to take gifts from suitors, and whose interest it was that the proceedings should be prolonged, and that there should be an abundance of writing.‡ Some-

* "I aun la experiencia me ha enseñado, que tienen otro trabajo, í es, que muy de ordenario peligran mas en ellas los juezes buenos í temerosos de Dios, que los barateros, í cohechados."—SOLÓRZANO, *Política Indiana*, lib. 5, cap. 10, p. 841.

† "I se lo oí dezir al Marques de Montesclaros Virrey del Perú que comparaba estas visitas á los torvellinos, que suele aver en las plaças í calles, que no sirven sino de levantar el polvo, í paja, í otras horruras, de ellas, í hazer que se suban á las cabeças."—SOLÓRZANO, *Política Indiana*, lib. 5, cap. 9, p. 840.

‡ "Tambien es de advertir el gravísimo daño, digno de remedio, que causan los Escribanos, que van con los Jueces de Residencia, de lo qual hago testigos á todos los que ante ellos han sido residenciados; porque comunmente, sin respeto de conciencia, ni temor del castigo, se cohechan, y á montones llevan dineros, y otras dádivas de los litigantes, por vias improbables, y ocultas; y al que no negocia por este camino, bien se le echa de ver en su despacho. Tras esto, porque haya mucho papel, y escritura en la residencia, son Fiscales del Corregidor, y de sus

thing similar to this, however, is to be seen in all legal proceedings; and a sound remedy for legal abuses will never be accomplished, until it is made the interest of many obscure persons, that law-suits should be swiftly disposed of.

Delays in completing *residencias.*

In the Indies, delay, the natural friend and follower of law, grew to a great height. In the good old times, a *residencia* would have lasted thirty or fifty days. But there was one *residencia* in the New World which dragged out a weary length of twenty years; and another is recorded which never came to an end.*

Residencias a fortuitous remedy.

It is clear, too, that these *residencias* must have been singularly subject to chance—to the enmity of the judges who came to take the *residencia*—to the particular events which had occurred in the colony just before the *residencia* was held,—and to the favour or disfavour which the governor about to suffer *residencia* was known to be held in at Court.

In the case of the worst governor, Pedrarias Davila, that the Indies had ever known, the only *residencia* held upon him was utterly without

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Ministros, y solicitan que les pongan capítulos, y demandas." —Bovadilla, *Política para Corregidores*, tom. 2, lib. 5, cap. 1, p. 493.

* "I la de la Audiencia de Lima, que se cometió al Licenciado Bonilla, que murió electo Arçobispo de México, de que tratan muchas cédulas del tercer tomo de las impressas, duró mas de veinte años, í primero que se acabasse, murió él, í los visitados, i assí no fué de provecho. I lo mesmo ha sucedido en otra novíssima, que ha passado de diez í ocho, í á penas está començada. I el año de 1589 se cometió la visita del Marques de Villa-Manrique, Virrey de México, al Obispo de Tlaxcala, í nunca tuvo fin."—Juan de Solórzano, *Política Indiana*, lib. 5, cap. 10, p. 841. Madrid, 1647.

B. XIV. Ch. 3.

avail,* as it was known that after the *residencia* he was to be reinstated as governor; and woe to the unfortunate individual who should be rash enough to bring any charge against so vindictive a man who, in a few months, would be in full power again!

* "Pero como todos conosçian questa residencia era grangeada por Pedrarías, é que passada, se avia de quedar en el mesmo offiçio de gobernador, començaron los cuerdos á burlar é murmurar de tal cuenta, porque les paresçia que era mejor disimular sus quexas é agravios que no trabaxar é andar caminos en valde, gastando dineros, si allí fuessen; pues no confiaban de tal manera de juzgado, ni á ninguno convenia pedir ni enojar al que se avia de quedar mandando la tierra, porque despues no le destruyesse por tal causa; é assí ninguno ovo tan falto de sesso que se pusiesse en tal jornada, pues avia de ser tiempo perdido." —OVIEDO, *Hist. Gen. y Nat. de Indias*, lib. 29, cap. 17.

CHAPTER IV.

THE RESIDENCIA OF CORTES—DEATH OF PONCE DE LEON—CONFUSED STATE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF MEXICO—PONCE DE LEON'S INSTRUCTIONS ABOUT ENCOMIENDAS COME TO NAUGHT—ENCOMIENDAS ALLOWED BY THE SPANISH COURT—AN AUDIENCIA CREATED FOR MEXICO—INSTRUCTIONS TO THIS AUDIENCIA DO NOT VARY THE NATURE OF ENCOMIENDAS IN NEW SPAIN.

THE *residencia* of Cortes was commenced; and during the whole time that it lasted (namely, seventeen days), not a single charge was brought against him.* In his fifth letter to the Emperor, he successfully repels the accusations, made against him by "serpent tongues," with regard to his wealth and possessions, asserting that, if he has received much, he has spent much more,—and that, too, not in buying heritages for himself, but in extending the patrimony of the King. He declares, that, at the present moment, he is poor, and much indebted.†

The reply of Cortes to the accusations made against him.

* "Y luego fué pregonado públicamente en la plaza de esta ciudad mi residencia, y estuve en ella diez y siete dias sin que se me pusiese demanda alguna."—*Documentos Inéditos*, tom. 4, p. 150.

† "Y cuanto á lo que dicen de tener yo mucha parte de la tierra, así lo confieso, y que he habido harta suma y cantidad de oro; pero digo que no ha sido tanta que haya bastado para que yo deje de ser pobre y estar

B. XIV. Ch. 4.

Indeed, he makes the following curious offer to the King. His Majesty had been informed that Cortes possessed two hundred *cuentos* of rent, upon which Cortes offers to His Majesty to commute all that he has for twenty *cuentos* of rent in New Spain,* or ten in the mother country.†

The *residencia* of Cortes, however, was broken off by an unexpected event. Ponce de Leon had been ill before this formal ceremony of taking the wands of justice: he returned to his apartments, shivering, and unable to eat. He threw himself on his bed, from which he was never to rise. The fever increased: in a few days it was evident that he was about to die; and, summoning to his bedside the King's civil servants, in their presence

adeudado en mas de cincuenta mil pesos de oro sin tener un castellano de que pagarlo, porque si mucho he habido, muy mucho mas he gastado, y no en comprar mayorazgos ni otras rentas para mí, sino en dilatar por estas partes el señorío y patrimonio Real de V. A. conquistando con ello y con poner mi persona á muchos trabajos, riesgos y peligros, muchos reinos y señoríos para Vuestra Excelencia, los cuales no podrán encubrir los malos con sus serpentinas lenguas." — *Documentos Inéditos*, tom. 4, p. 154.

* "Por tanto á V. M. suplico reciba en servicio todo cuanto yo acá tengo, y en esos reinos me haga merced de los veinte cuentos de renta, y quedarle han los ciento y ochenta, y yo serviré en la Real presencia de V. M. donde nadie pienso me hará ventaja ni tampoco podrá encubrir mis servicios, y aun para lo de acá pienso será V. M. de mí muy servido porque sabré como testigo de vista decir á V. A. lo que á su Real servicio conviene que acá mande proveer, y no podrá ser engañado por falsas relaciones." —*Documentos Inéditos*, tom. 4, p. 157.

† "Digo que siendo V. M. servido de me hacer merced de me mandar dar en esos reinos diez cuentos de renta y que yo en ellos le vaya á servir, no será para mí pequeña merced con dejar todo cuanto acá tengo, porque de esta manera satisfaria mi deseo que es servir á V. M. en su Real presencia, y V. M. así mismo se satisfaria de mi lealtad y seria de mí muy servido."—*Relacion al* EMPERADOR, *por* HERNAN CORTÉS. *Doc. Inéd.*, tom. 4, p. 159.

he delivered his wand of office to Marcos de Aguilar,* and soon after expired. In those days eminent persons seldom died suddenly without the suspicion of their having been assisted out of the world; and, as Ponce de Leon's death, at this juncture, was apparently convenient for Cortes, there were not wanting people—to use a Spanish phrase of that day—who probably believed, and loudly asserted, that the new Governor had been poisoned by the man he came to supersede. This accusation, no doubt, travelled, with all the swiftness of malignity, to the Spanish Court.

B. XIV. Ch. 4.

Ponce de Leon dies. 1526.

Calumny, which can not only make a cloud seem like a mountain, but can almost transform a cloud into a mountain, was often busy with the name of Cortes. This is the third time—I almost scorn to mention it—that he was accused of poisoning persons whose existence was supposed to be inconvenient to him.† Any man, however, who is much talked of, will be much misrepresented. Indeed, malignant intention is, unhappily, the least part of calumny, which has its sources in idle talk, playful fancies, gross misapprehensions, utter exaggerations, and many other rivulets of error that sometimes flow together into one huge river of calumniation, which pursues its muddy, mischievous course, unchecked, for ages.

* "Marcos de Aguilar, cierto Letrado" (scholar, as distinguished from soldier). — Remesal, *Hist. de Chiapa y Guatemala*, lib. 1, cap. 7.

† Francisco de Garay, and Catharine de Xuarez, the first wife of Cortes, were said to have been poisoned by him. These reports were utterly without foundation.

B. XIV. Ch. 4.

Meanwhile, in Mexico, it was immediately a subject of discussion, as might have been foreseen, whether Ponce de Leon could delegate the power he had received from the Emperor. That question, after many juntas (for the disputed point is a difficult one), was determined in favour of Marcos de Aguilar, who was accordingly accepted as the Governor. There is always, however, a loss of power in these transmissions of authority. The loss was not of much importance in the present case, for Marcos de Aguilar was a sickly man,* and the charge of such a difficult government so rapidly augmented his malady, that he died about two months after his appointment. Again Cortes seemed to be delivered, by a happy accident, from the troubles of his *residencia*. Before his death, Marcos de Aguilar had, in his turn, taken care to nominate a successor, and had chosen the Treasurer, Alonzo de Estrada. The question respecting the delegation of authority was renewed, and much disputed over. The result, too, was different, for it was at last agreed upon that Estrada should govern, but in concert with Gonzalo de Sandoval, and that Cortes should have charge of the government of the Indians, and of the war department. Indeed, it appears as if the main body of the civil servants of Mexico wished that Cortes should resume the whole power which he had held before the arrival

Marcos de Aguilar succeeds Ponce de Leon.

He dies.

The Treasurer and Sandoval succeed Marcos de Aguilar.

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* "Estava tan doliente y hético, que le dava de mamar una muger de Castilla, y tenia unas cabras que tambien bebia leche dellas."—Bernal Diaz, cap. 193.

of Ponce de Leon, until the Emperor should decide what was to be done. But Cortes very prudently refused, saying, that "his fidelity and singleness of purpose would thus be more clearly manifested." This was the more self-denying on the part of Cortes, as it is probable, from what afterwards occurred, that he knew he should find no friend in Alonzo de Estrada, although this was the same man in whom Cortes had placed such confidence, and whom he had left in authority when he undertook the journey to Honduras.

Dispute between Estrada and Cortes.

Alonzo de Estrada had not been long in office before a matter of dispute, originally trifling, arose, which carried the enmity of the Governor and Cortes to a great height. An inhabitant of Mexico, named Diego de Figueroa, had a violent quarrel with Christoval Cortejo, a servant of Sandoval, and therefore a dependent of Cortes. From words they proceeded to blows, and Figueroa was wounded. Estrada, with the utmost rashness, listening only to one side, and pronouncing sentence within an hour after the affair had occurred, ordered Cortejo's left hand to be cut off, and, after it had been cut off, sent him to prison, in order to enforce his departure from Mexico the next day, a punishment which the furious Governor resolved to inflict, in addition to the mutilation that the poor man had already suffered. Not satisfied with this, Estrada, fearing that Cortes would not bear quietly such treatment of a follower, sent a notification to Cortes himself that he should quit Mexico, and, under penalty of his life, should not

Cortes banished from Mexico.

B. XIV. Ch. 4.

venture to contravene this order. The whole city was inflamed with rage at the conduct of the Governor, and the inhabitants rushed to place themselves at the disposal of Cortes, threatening open rebellion; but Cortes, ever cautious, only hastened the more to depart, while the people were striving to prevent his departure.

Cortes having gone, and the inhabitants of Mexico being in the highest state of rage and disgust, the elements of a civil war were actively at work, when certain monks of the Order of St. Dominic, who, at the request of Cortes, had been sent from Spain in the company of Ponce de Leon, now interposed to check the tumult, and to assuage the fury of the contending parties. Most of these monks had, like Ponce de Leon, been very ill on their arrival in the country; but the two who were most able to exert themselves on this occasion, Fathers Tomas Ortiz and Domingo de Betanzos—the second a name that will frequently occur in this history—succeeded in reconciling Cortes and Estrada, so much so, that Cortes "drew out of the font"—to use an expression of those days—an infant son of Estrada, who had just been born, and, according to the narrator of this story, ever afterwards the two great men were loving gossips, "that being a relationship," he adds, "of close alliance in those times, and not a little in these."*

The Dominican monks reconcile Cortes and Estrada.

These quarrels amongst the powerful men of

* "Parentesco de grande union en aquellos tiempos, y no poco celebrado en estos."—REMESAL, *Hist. de Chiapa y Guatemala*, lib. 1, cap. 8.

Mexico have less interest for us than they otherwise would, from the unfamiliarity of the names, and because some of the personages merely flit across the path of history. Else, to say the truth, all quarrels among men are very interesting to mankind, from the low street brawl created by two viragoes, and regarded with exceeding interest by the passers by, up to the courtly feuds of great ministers and powerful princes, which are carefully studied in all their details by philosophic historians. In the present instance there were many persons interested in having the instructions which Ponce de Leon brought out with him forgotten or laid aside; and those who should have principally attended to such matters of government were most involved in the general clamour and contention. And so, when Cortes returned to the city, and peace and order were again established, we do not find that anything had been done, or was to be done, about the *encomiendas* of the Indians. Probably the authorities were waiting for fresh instructions from the Court of Spain, in this, as in other matters relating to the government of Mexico. The reconcilement of Cortes and Estrada took place in the year 1527.

Ponce de Leon's instructions come to naught.

It does not seem, however, that even if the political state of Mexico had been quiet and well-ordered in the years 1526 and 1527, any movement for doing away with *encomiendas* would have met with warm favour at Court. For it is to be noticed, that in 1527, a certain Francisco de Montejo, an old companion of Cortes, undertaking the

B. XIV. Ch. 4.

Encomiendas allowed by the Spanish Court. 1527.

"pacification" (as it was called) of Yucatan, his orders allowed him to give the Indians in *encomienda*; though, at the same time, it was provided that this should be done with the consent of the clerigos and religiosos who should go with him. HERRERA says that this permission to give the Indians in *encomienda* was a general one for the whole Indies. There are no circumstances in the political history of the Indies which explain the causes of this permission being granted; but I am inclined to think that the presence at the Spanish Court of many of the colonists, at this period, tended to settle the matter in this way. The Contador of Mexico, Rodrigo de Albornoz, the same man who was the first to give such sage advice about slaves, was now at Court; as probably were also many other persons connected with the disputes which had arisen about taking the *residencia* of Cortes. They would be looked up to, in the affairs of the Indies, as practical men; and their advice (the second best being the advice generally given by such persons), backed by much sound and fluent talk upon the details of Indian affairs, would be likely to be adopted.

Every effort hitherto made to control the power of Cortes having, from some cause or other, failed, the Spanish Court began to view that power with increased jealousy and alarm. Moreover, the Court must have been bewildered by representations of the most conflicting nature, coming from the various chiefs and factions of Mexico. The Emperor, therefore, and his ministers, resolved to change the form of govern-

ment. Hispaniola was already governed by an *Audiencia*. The Admiral, Diego Columbus, son of the great discoverer, had never had much weight in affairs, and his death, which took place in this year (1528), put an end to any semblance even of other authority than that of the *Audiencia*. It was now thought advisable to create a similar body for Mexico, consisting of four members, with a president. Nuño de Guzman, who had hitherto been employed in the government of Panuco, was appointed President. As the presence of this new governing body was thought to be urgently wanted in Mexico, considerable haste was made in preparing the instructions for them. Among the first things that they were to attempt was the *residencia* of Cortes; and, in order that this investigation might be more free, they were to press Cortes to quit Mexico, and to come to Court. It may be noticed as an instance of the politic nature of the Spanish Administration, that two letters were prepared for Cortes, urging him to come. One was written by the Bishop of Osma, the President of the Council of the Indies, in which the Bishop assured him that the King wished to see and consult with him, the Bishop promising to use all his own interest in favour of Cortes. In case Cortes should disregard this letter, the *Audiencia* were to produce a letter from the King, requesting his assistance and advice, and holding out assurances of favour and reward.

B. XIV. Ch. 4.

Death of Diego Columbus, 1528.

An *Audiencia* created for Mexico, with Nuño de Guzman for President. 1528.

But the authorities in Spain needed not to have given themselves all this trouble, for Cortes, who

B. XIV. Ch. 4.

Cortes arrives in Spain. May, 1528.

seems generally to have done the right thing at the right time, suddenly appeared at Court to assist their deliberations. It is curious that, at the same moment, the other great Commander, Francisco Pizarro, was also at Court; and these two captains naturally excited the interest and admiration of the Spanish people.*

The arrival of Cortes—which may a little remind the reader of the return of Columbus, for the Conqueror of Mexico had also brought with him specimens of the riches and the curiosities of his new country—dispelled at once the vapours of doubt and calumny which had lately obscured his name and his deeds with the Spanish Court. The Emperor received him favourably, listened to him readily, and, with the usual intelligence which Charles manifested in affairs, delighted to inspect (*holgó de ver*) the strange men, animals, and products which the Conqueror had brought with him from Mexico.†

The details of the journey of Cortes to Court, and of his stay there, are so interesting, that they must be told. He came to seek powerful friends, and on the journey he lost the truest friend, perhaps, that, amongst men, he had ever possessed. Sandoval, the constant companion of Cortes, was not divided from him in this journey. They landed together at Palos, and Sandoval feeling unwell, was left there, while Cortes went

* "Fue cosa notable, ver juntos á estos dos Hombres, que eran mirados, como Capitanes de los mas notables del Mundo, en aquel tiempo, aunque el uno acababa sus Hechos mas sustanciales, í el otro los començaba." — HERRERA, *Hist. de las Indias*, dec. 4, lib. 4, cap. 1.

† HERRERA, *ubi supra.*

to the monastery of La Rabida (a place that had known the footsteps of many illustrious personages), to perform his devotions. Sandoval grew worse; and the man who had been in so many dangerous affrays, face to face with enemies worthy of his prowess, was obliged to feign slumber while he saw his villanous host, a rope-maker, enter his room by stealth, and carry off his gold. Cortes, on being apprised of his friend's danger, hurried back to Palos, where he arrived in time to listen to Sandoval's last words, and to receive his last injunctions. The body of Sandoval was carried to the monastery of La Rabida, and there interred with much pomp.

Death of Sandoval.

When there are two friends of very different ages, and one dies, it is much sadder for the survivor if it be the younger one that death has taken. Sandoval might have found another Cortes, but Cortes would never find another "Son Sandoval." His age was about thirty when he died.

Cortes, in deep mourning, pursued his way to Court, receiving all honour from the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and other great persons who entertained him on his way. The Duke of Bejar, into whose family Cortes was about to marry, had prepared the Emperor's mind to receive the great Captain favourably. The next day after his arrival, Cortes had an audience. He would have knelt before his sovereign, but the Emperor begged him immediately to rise. Cortes then recounted his deeds and his sufferings, and the sinister opposition he had met with. There is

Cortes has an interview with Charles V.

B. XIV. Ch. 4.

reason to believe that he was a much better speaker than writer. Cautious and reserved men often are. They need the stimulus of an audience, and the pressure of a great occasion, to overcome their reserve, and to surprise them into eloquence.

His speech.

At the conclusion of a speech which must have been among the best worth hearing of those delivered in that age, he said that His Majesty must be tired of listening to him, and that perhaps he had spoken with too much boldness for a subject to use in his sovereign's presence. Whereupon he begged to be pardoned for any inadvertency or boldness, and to be allowed to present His Majesty with a memorial, containing the full details of the narrative he had briefly recounted. Again he sought to throw himself at the feet of the Emperor, and again Charles commanded him to rise.

Gossip about Cortes, while he was at Court.

I cannot relate at any length the little anecdotes and small scandal which were current about Cortes at this time: how he fell into favour or out of favour with this or that great personage; how the Empress was a little dissatisfied at the jewels he presented to her, because those which he gave to his betrothed, Doña Juana de Zuniga, were finer and perhaps more exquisite; or how, at chapel, he took a place nearer to the Emperor than some thought his rank would warrant, although this was done at the Emperor's desire.

Undoubtedly, the favour which Charles showed to Cortes was such as might provoke the jealousy of courtiers. When Cortes fell ill, the Emperor went to visit him at his *posada*,—an

honour of the rarest kind, and of the greatest significance. The substantial rewards which His Majesty conferred on Cortes were,—that he created him Marquis del Valle de Guaxaca; that he gave orders to the *Audiencia* of Mexico (who then were probably at Seville, preparing for their voyage), not to disturb the Marquis's possessions in New Spain (*que no liziesse novedad en sus Indios*);* that he assigned to him territories, including three-and-twenty thousand vassals; and that he gave him two rocky islands for hunting-grounds.†

The Emperor did more than all this. He listened to the advice and the recommendations of Cortes, who was enabled to benefit his friends—the Bishop of Mexico and the Franciscan monks —and to cause that the Emperor should found a nunnery, and should endow with suitable portions the four daughters of Montezuma, whom Cortes had in his charge.

His requests of the Emperor.

There is on record a single sentence of the Emperor's, that must have been addressed to Cortes in some private interview, which shows the gracious esteem in which he was held by his

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* Herrera, *Hist. de las Indias*, dec. 4, lib. 6, cap. 4.

† One of these was probably the *Cerro del Marques*, which Cortes had gained on his advance to the siege of Mexico.

"Le hizo merced pura, e irrebocable para siempre jamas, de las villas, y pueblos de valle de Atrisco, y otros, en la Nueva España hasta numero de veynte y tres mil vassallos, con sus tierras, terminos, vassallos, juridicion civil y criminal, alta y baxa, mero misto imperio, rentas, oficios, pechos, derechos, montes, y prados, y aguas corrientes, y estantes, y manantes, y con todas las otras cosas que pertenecian á la corona Real." — Herrera, dec. 4, lib. 6, cap. 4.

B. XIV. Ch. 4.

sovereign. Borrowing a metaphor from the archery-ground, and gracefully, as it seems, alluding to a former misappreciation of the services of Cortes, the Emperor said that he wished to deal with him as those who contend with the cross-bow, whose first shots go wide of the mark, and then they improve and improve, until they hit the centre of the white. So, continued His Majesty, he wished to go on until he had shot into the white of what should be done to reward the Marquis's deserts; and meanwhile, nothing was to be taken from him which he then held.*

The Emperor declares that he will reward Cortes justly.

It is very pleasing to find that Cortes did not forget his old friends the Tlascalans, but dwelt on their services, and procured from the Emperor an order that they should not be given in *encomienda* to His Majesty, or to any other person.†

Finally, Cortes, with a vigilant eye to the future, treated with the Emperor respecting any

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* "Su Majestad me hizo merced de decirme que no se me habia de quitar nada de lo que tenia hasta ser informado, y que se queria haber conmigo como los que se muestran á jugar á la ballesta, que los primeros tiros dan fuera del terrero, y así van enmendando hasta dar en el blanco y fiel, y desta manera su Majestad queria ir hasta dar en el fiel de lo que mis servicios merescian, que entre tanto no se me quitaba ni se me habia de quitar nada de lo que tenia." — EL MARQUÉS DEL VALLE *al* PRESIDENTE *del Consejo Real de las Indias.* Mejico, 20 de Setiembre de 1538. *Doc. Ined.*, tom. 4, p. 195.

† Tambien sinificó al Rey lo mucho que le avian servido los de la provincia de Tlascala, en la guerra, conquista, y pacificacion de Mexico, y otras provincias, y en todo lo demas que se avia ofrecido: por lo qual los mandó libertar, para que no estuviessen encomendados a su Magestad, ni á otras personas algunas, pues por su causa se avia ganado la tierra, teniendose perpetuamente memoria, de la buena voluntad con que a todo avian acudido."— HERRERA, *ut supra.*

discovery which he might make in the "Sea of the South."

One important favour Cortes could not obtain. He probably had the tact not to broach the subject with the Emperor, but his friends no doubt endeavoured to gain for him the government of Mexico. To grant this boon would have been foreign to the jealous policy of the Spanish Court, which avoided, if possible, to make a discoverer, or a conqueror, into a Viceroy. He was left, however, in the important office of Captain-General.

Is not appointed Governor of New Spain.

The Emperor, with his accustomed kindness, gave orders that the Indians* whom Cortes had brought with him (among whom were a son of Montezuma and a son of the Tlascalan Chief Magisca, who had been baptized by the name of Lorenzo) should be clothed, and should be gratified by presents, in order that they might return contented to their own country. The Emperor also ordered that a monk, named Fray Antonio de Cuidad Rodrigo, should take charge of these Indians, in order to see that they were kindly treated on their way home; and money was given to them to buy images and crucifixes, to carry with them.†

* Cortes brought with him Indians who excelled in the games of New Spain; and perhaps the most interesting thing for a modern reader to notice is, that the balls they played with were apparently made of caoutchouc. —"Entre los quales llevaba doçe jugadores extremados de la provinçia de Tascaltecle del juego del batey, que es de pelota gruessa hecha de leche de çiertos árboles é otras mixturas, que salta la pelota mucho."—OVIEDO, *Hist. Gen. y Nat. de Indias*, lib. 33, cap. 49.

† "Por cedula de EMPERADOR. Madrid, 2 Octubre, 1528;

B. XIV. Ch. 4.

Instructions for this *Audiencia.*

It is difficult to ascertain what influence the arrival of Cortes at this period had upon the general legislation of the Indies. As might be expected, his advice, which was given in writing, formed matter for consideration in the instructions to be given to the Auditors. These instructions, however, do not essentially change the nature of *encomiendas;* but, what is most remarkable in them is that they contain an instruction to the Auditors to set aside for the King those head townships of provinces, and principal *pueblos*, which the Auditors shall consider it desirable for the King to have; and, from the list, attached to these instructions, of the places which are suggested as fit to be retained by the King, it appears as if Charles were to have a considerable part of the country. Amongst the names occur the grand city of Temixtitan, Tezcuco and its land, Cempoala and its land,

Encomiendas not varied.

de la Reyna, 1529, 15 de Marzo; i Toledo, 31 Maio, 1529. Se manda que á 39 indios que el Governador Hernando Cortes trajo de Nueva España se les vista, mantenga, cure i regale, i se restituyan á sus naturalezas á costa de Sus Magestades. Nombranse los 36. Los 7 eran de los mas principales—Don Martin, hijo de Motezuma, Don Juan Coyamitle, Andres de Tapia hijo de Governador de Mexico, P°. Gonzalez Aculzin, Don Hernando Tucuyutecal, Don Lorenzo de Tascala, Don Juan de Cempoal. Á estos que se den sayos de terciopelo azul sin mangas, jubones de Damasco amarillo i capas de grana, i calzas de grana, i gorras de terciopelo azul, i cada dos camisas, i zapatos i cintas i agugetas: a los restantes los mismos vestidos de seda. Murio uno de los 7 principales, y otro se fue á Roma (Bolbio á Sevilla en 27 Julio, 1529). En lugar destos se manda vestir otros dos ricamente como los demas 5, los que señelare Frai Antonio de Cuidad Rodrigo. Fueron vestidos en Abril de 1529. En Agosto se prepararon bastimentos para su mantenimiento de 23 de dichos indios en su viage de Nueva España. Otros dos hallo que son mantenidos todo este año, seria por haver quedado enfermos."—*Col. de Muñoz*, tom. 78.

Tlascala and its land, and Acapulco with all the seaports. B. XIV. Ch. 4.

From the royal orders it appears (as far as can be ascertained from their obscure wording) as if there were some difference in the nature of the *encomiendas* in the King's districts, and those made over to private persons. This, if so, was a great advantage, for slavery or servitude of any kind is much more difficult to deal with when all the servient persons are of one class, and subjected to one mode of rule. The slaves themselves are not only more difficult to deal with, but less is learnt of the mode of dealing with them, when there are no differences in their condition—when they remain, as it were, one solid, inert, hopeless mass of difficulty.

Thus much for the subject of *encomiendas*, as it was dealt with in these instructions. With regard to other points of Indian administration, the royal orders contain much that was humane and considerate,—for the discharge of the royal conscience really seems in those days to have been a great concern. It was ordered that no Indian should carry any burdens against his will, whether he was paid for it or not, with the single exception of the tribute, or produce representing tribute, which they had to pay their *encomenderos;* and this, even, they were not bound to carry, if the *encomenderos* lived more than twenty leagues off.*

Protection for the Indians against their *encomenderos.* 1528.

* "Mandó, que no se diese lugar para que ningun Castellano cargase los Indios, para llevar Mantenimientos, de un Lugar á otro ni por ningun camino, ni en otra manera, pública, ni secretamente, contra su voluntad, con paga, ni sin ella: sino que se

B. XIV. Ch. 4.

Moreover, no *encomendero* was to compel the Indians to build any house for him but his own. If he sold his own house, he must build another at his own charge. During seedtime the Indians were not to be employed by their masters; and when they were sent to the mines they were to be provided with clergy there. This last order, if it had been generally acted up to, would have been a great protection.

Indians not to be removed from their districts.

Another important order given for the benefit of the Indians was, that they should not, even when they were slaves, be removed from their own districts. With regard to slaves, the orders quoted before, that the proof of slavery should rest with the master, and that the branding-iron should be in official custody, are found in these instructions.

To men practised in government, as Charles the Fifth and his ministers were, the old difficulty (*quis custodiet ipsos custodes?*) naturally occurred. It was very well to make all these wise laws for the Indians; but who was to see that they would be obeyed? To meet this difficulty, a plan for the protection of the Indians was pre-

Protectors appointed.

llevase con Bestias, como quisiesen; pues iá, por la gracia de Dios (con la industria de los Castellanos) havia en aquella Tierra abundancia de ellas: aunque se permitia, que los Indios, que al presente estaban encomendados, el tributo, í servicio, que eran obligados de dar, lo pudiesen llevar hasta el Lugar, adonde las Personas de los Encomenderos residian, no pasando de veinte Leguas de su Pueblo; í que si les mandasen que se los llevasen á las Minas, ó á otras partes, adonde no residiese el Encomendero, no se hiciese sin voluntad de los Indios, pagandoselo primeramente, í no pasando esto de las veinte Leguas."—HERRERA, *Hist. de las Indias*, dec. 4, lib. 4, cap. 3.

pared, as early, apparently, as the date of the first draught of the instructions for the *Audiencia*. The plan was similar to that which had been adopted in 1516 by the great Cardinal Ximenes. The office formerly held by Las Casas was renewed, and Protectors were appointed for the Indians, who were "charged and commanded to have much care to visit and inspect the said Indians, and to cause that they should be well-treated and taught in secular things (for so we may render the word *endustriados*), and instructed in the Articles of the Holy Catholic Faith, by the persons who have charge of them in *encomienda*."*

B. XIV. Ch. 4.

* "Por la presente vos mandamos cometemos y encargamos y mandamos, que tengais mucho cuydado de mirar y visitar los dichos Indios y hazer que sean bien tratados y endustriados y enseñados en las cosas de nuestra sancta fee cathólica." — *El* EMPERADOR *al* OBISPO DE MÉXICO, 10 *Henero*, 1528, PUGA, *Provisiones*, fol. 64.

CHAPTER V.

ARRIVAL OF THE AUDIENCIA — GREAT DISPUTES BETWEEN THE PROTECTORS OF THE INDIANS AND THE AUDIENCIA—THE AUDITORS PROSECUTE THE BISHOP OF MEXICO—THE BISHOP EXCOMMUNICATES THE AUDITORS — A GREAT JUNTA IN SPAIN ON THE SUBJECT OF THE INDIES.

B. XIV. Ch. 5.

THE officers constituting the *Audiencia* having received their instructions, set sail from Seville for New Spain at the end of August, 1528, and arrived at Vera Cruz on the 6th of December of that year. From thence they sent to summon Nuño de Guzman, who was to be their President; but, without waiting for him, having the Emperor's command to that effect, they made their entrance into the city of Mexico. The climate of this place seems to have constantly had all the bad effects which ill-doers could have wished for upon the unhappy official men and lawyers who were sent thither from the mother country. Two of the Auditors, the Licenciates Parada and Francisco Maldonado, fell ill, and died within thirteen days after their arrival. This circumstance would tend to diminish the suspicions, if any still existed, of Cortes having been concerned in the opportune death of Ponce de Leon. The other Auditors commenced taking the *residencia* amidst a perfect hubbub of complaints, demands, and

First *Audiencia* arrives in New Spain. Dec. 1528.

Residencia of Cortes.

law-suits, principally directed against the absent Cortes, who was more happily engaged than in replying to them, by solemnizing his marriage with Juana de Zuñiga, daughter of the Count of Aguilar, and niece of the Duke of Bejar.

The appointment of Nuño de Guzman was a most deplorable one. He appears to have had nothing about him of the nature of a statesman, but to have been a cruel, rapacious, inconsiderate man, whose career is strikingly similar to that of some of the captains who, under Pedrarias, had desolated the Terra-Firma. This bad appointment was probably caused by the desire of the Government in Spain to have a military man, of some repute in the Indies, to supply the place of Cortes, the fear of that great Conqueror being the ruling motive which had given rise to the appointment of the *Audiencia*. When Nuño de Guzman came to join his colleagues in Mexico, though some care was taken in the general affairs of Government, yet the Auditors were accused of attending more to their private interests than to their public duties, and of being wholly neglectful of those royal orders, upon which so much stress had been laid, touching the liberty and good treatment of the Indians. Thence grew vehement disputes between the Auditors and the Protectors of the Indians,—not only the official Protectors, but the Franciscan Monks in the city of Mexico, who demanded the execution of these royal orders, saying, that otherwise the royal conscience would not be discharged. Nuño de Guzman and his Auditors, in the usual way of

Great dispute between the Protectors of the Indians and the new *Audiencia*.

B. XIV. Ch. 5. factious persons, who meet an accusation made against them by charges against the opposite party which have nothing to do with the matter in hand, replied that the Monks and the Protectors were partisans of Cortes, and rather defenders of him than of the Indians. Instantly the whole town was engaged on one side or other of these two factions; and, to use the words of the royal historiographer, "so things went on with much confusion and shamefulness."*

Without entering into the degrading disputes which arose from this state of things, one or two exploits of Nuño de Guzman's, in a foray against the Chichimecas, may be mentioned, as serving to show his want of fitness for his new office. He acted, indeed, throughout, with the utmost intemperance, partiality, and even want of knowledge of the world.† Upon grounds which at the time were thought tyrannical, he caused the Chief of the Chichimecas to be put to the torture and burnt. Other Chiefs, even in friendly districts, when they failed in bringing food or gold, were tormented by a savage dog being let loose upon them. Altogether the expedition was one continual course of cruelty and folly. We may say folly, because when Cortes or Vasco Nuñez committed the acts of barbarity, which, alas! will for ever sully their great names, their cruelty always had much of policy in it, and little or nothing of mere wantonness. But now there was no occasion

Nuño de Guzman's cruelty.

* Herrera, *Hist. de las Indias*, dec. 4, lib. 4, cap. 11.

† For instance, he endeavoured to prevent any letters coming from Spain but his own.

to strike terror. The Spaniards were not a mere handful of men contending against a great and well-constituted empire. The barbarities of Nuño de Guzman were, therefore, out of date.

Complaints from both factions were addressed to the Emperor, the Auditors accusing Cortes of having had the most treasonable intentions, declaring that the Bishops, under pretence of being protectors of the Indians, meddled with the royal jurisdiction; that the Franciscan Monks were devoted partisans of the Marqués del Valle; and that, with regard to the Indians, the opinion of the *Audiencia* was, that the *encomiendas* should be made perpetual, in order that their masters might treat them with more love,—a plausible, but very insufficient, reason to justify a system of servitude.

The *Audiencia* advises the Emperor to make *encomiendas* perpetual.

On the other hand, the Bishop of Mexico was not slow in informing His Majesty of his view of the question. A letter of this prelate's exists, which perhaps was one of those which Charles the Fifth had before him when he wrote from Genoa, ordering a junta of the Great Council of Spain to be summoned, in order to consider again the government of Mexico; and this letter is so admirably descriptive of the state of things which took place after the arrival of the first *Audiencia* at Mexico, that the Bishop's own words must be quoted. The date of the letter is August the 27th, 1529. "Also," the Bishop writes, "there came to me secretly, to make their complaints, the Lords of Huaxocingo, who at the time were

Bishop of Mexico's letter to the Emperor.

B. XIV. Ch. 5.

in *encomienda* to Don Hernando Cortes, and they said that they served Hernando Cortes as his mayordomos commanded, and gave the tribute which was agreed upon, but that for some time the President and Auditors had cast upon them another tribute in addition to this; and what they thought more hard still was, that they had to bring each day, to the house of each Auditor, for his maintenance, seven fowls, and many quails, and seventy eggs, and wood, charcoal, and other trifling things, together with a large quantity of maize."* It appears, too, from the Bishop's letter, that this maize was not of their own growing, but that they had to buy it, and that their resources were now exhausted. The greatest grievance, however, which these Chiefs had to complain of was their being compelled to provide for the transport of these commodities. Their *pueblos* were eight or ten leagues off; the way was cumbered with snow; and, to maintain such a daily service, a great many persons were necessary. Indeed, not only men, but pregnant women, and boys, were obliged to assist in carrying these burdens. The result was, that a hundred and thirteen persons had already died, from this enforced toil. How significant is this one little circumstance, when we are estimating the numbers destroyed in the conquest of the Indies! The Auditors arrived in December, 1528; so that in six or eight months, such had

Transport service the great burden of the Indians.

* *Carta de* Fray Juan de Zumarraga, *Obispo de Mexico; Coleccion de* Muñoz, MS., tom. 78.

been the loss of life in a single *encomienda*, from this apparently trifling service of transport imposed upon it. The Chiefs, after begging the Bishop to defend them, assured him that no other resource was left for them but to fly to the mountains. "To whom," he says, "I replied the best I could, telling them that such proceedings were not the will of Your Majesty, and holding out to them hopes of a speedy remedy; so they went away secretly consoled. Then I spoke to the President and Auditors, with no little affliction to myself, from my inability to remedy the wrong, informing them that certain *padres* had written to me from Huaxocingo (that the *Audiencia* might not suspect that the Indian Chiefs had come to me to complain), and I told them (the Auditors) that I had Your Majesty's command to defend the Indians, and that I could not but endeavour to do so, even if I knew that it would cost me my life, and that they should bring their demands upon these Indians down to what was just, and that they should keep on record that I would do what I could to prevent these deaths. The President replied to me, that the Indians must do what the *Audiencia* ordered them, whether they died or not; and that if I put myself forward to defend them, the *Audiencia* would chastise me, as the Bishop of Zamora* had been chastised; and that the Indians must

The Bishop endeavours to protect the Indians.

* Don Antonio de Acuña, Bishop of Zamora, who was strangled in the fortress of Simancas. His crime was, having taken the side of the *Comunidades* in the war against Charles the Fifth, on his accession to the throne.

B. XIV. Ch. 5.

be taxed, and must live in the way that they ordered, and no other."*

Nor were these idle threats. The Bishop, no doubt, persevered in maintaining the good cause, preaching in favour of the instruction, conversion, and preservation of the Indians, urging that a stop should be put to the sumptuous works which the Auditors were continually making at the cost of the Indians, and demanding the fulfilment of the royal ordinances. The Auditors met this last move on the part of the Bishop Protector, by condemning him in his temporalities; and, threatening the heaviest penalties, they prohibited the King's officers, and those who had to pay the tithes, from giving any means of support to the Bishop or his clergy. This prohibition, as appears from the law-proceedings in this case, was in force for the whole of the year 1530. The Bishop, on his side, fought with spiritual weapons, and excommunicated the Auditors.

The Auditors proceed to extremities against the Bishop. 1530.

The Bishop excommunicates them.

On reference to the law-proceedings which the conduct of this infamous *Audiencia* afterwards gave rise to, it appears that Nuño de Guzman must have added considerably to the number of

* "Respondióme el Presidente que ellos havian de cumplir lo que el Audiencia mandava muriesen ó no, í que si yo me ponia en defendellos me castigarian como el Obispo de Zamora fué castigado, í quellos no havian de tasarse en vivir por mano de nadie sino todos por la suya, í quellos me havian de mandar í tomar cuenta porque eran mis superiores í havian de proveer la Yglesia de Capellanes í pagallos de los diezmos porque yo de una sola parte dellos puedo disponer í no de mas."—*Carta de* FRAY JUAN DE ZUMARRAGA, *C. Obispo de México*; *Coleccion de* MUÑOZ, MS., tom. 78.

slaves in Mexico. There is a statement made upon oath, in which a man of the name of Lopez, one of Guzman's lieutenants, confesses, that by command of Nuño de Guzman, he made war for some days upon certain *pueblos;* and because the Indians, when required to do so (perhaps by the original *requirimiento*), would not come peaceably, he seized upon men, women, and children, to the number of a thousand, branded them with the iron that the General gave him, and then delivered them up to the said General, who distributed them. They were rated at the value of five pesos each, and one *peso* was paid for the royal fifth.*

Franciscan Monks on the side of the Bishops.

The Franciscan Monks, who were ranged on the side of the Bishop, in making excuses afterwards (which they do with all humility), for the sad disturbances of these times, declare in the strongest terms that false witnesses were brought

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* Despues de lo suso dicho en 3 Febrero 1532 el Licenciado Maldonado tomó juramento del dicho Lopez quien preguntando quantos esclavos se hicieron y donde, dijo que en el pueblo de Aguacatlan 12 leguas mas acá de Xalisco í en Zapualca por mandado do N°. Guzman hizo guerra ciertos dias, í porque requeridos no quisieron venir de Paz apresó hombres, mugeres í niños 1000, los herró con yerro que le dió el General, se los entregó en Chiametla í él los repartió: Apreciáronse cada á 5 pesos í por cada se dava un peso de quinto real. Hiciéronse los esclavos en Nobiembre í Diciembre de 1530. Que el mandamiento para ello tiene en Cuisco, pueblo de Mechuacan encomendado á él. Que no sabe haverse hecho otros esclavos en esta jornada. Mandó el Licenciado al confesante trugese este mandamiento al Audiencia dentro de 30 dias. Autoriza esta confesion, Alonso de Mata Escrivano." — *Dicho de* GONZALO LOPEZ *en lo de* N°. DE GUZMAN *Parece otra parte de la informacion tomada por el Audiencia. Coleccion de* MUÑOZ, MS., tom. 79.

B. XIV. Ch. 5.

against them by the *Audiencia*. In the course of this statement, the monks take occasion to give their view of the natives. "It is a gentle people," they say, "doing more from fear than from virtue, and they work well, if they are permitted to enjoy the fruits of their labours. . . . . They lie to a reasonable amount, but little with any one who treats them well, or at least not so much" (this is pretty nearly the account that might be given as regards the truthfulness of most people in a state of servitude); "they are well disposed to religion, confessing very well, so that there is no need of asking them questions. They are given to drunkenness, and require restraint. . . . . The children of our monastery already know much, and teach others. They sing plain chant, and accompany the organ competently."*

General principles of policy visible in these disputes at Mexico.

It may not be amiss to notice how many of the general principles of policy and government occur in the course of these lamentable transactions, and that the Indians suffer from some of those causes which, in one form or other, have at various times affected all nations. The learned

* "Mienten razonablemente, pero poco con quien bien los trata, ó no tanto. Estos males tienen con otros bienes, que es gente que vienen bien á nuestra fé, confiésanse mucho bien así que no tien necesidad de preguntas. Por la mayor parte son viciosos en se emborrachar, í tienen gran necesidad de se les impedir . . . . para su salbacion é policía. Los niños de nuestras casas saben ya mucho, í enseñan á muchos. Cantan canto llano í canto de órgano conpetentemente."—*Al Consejo de Yndias*, Frai Juan, *electo*, —Frai Martinus de Valencia *Custos*, &c., Frai Luis de Fuensalida, *Guardian de* Tezcuco,—Frai Antonio Ortiz, *G. de* México,—Frai Antonio Maldonado, *G. de* Tlaclalmaxala, Fray Francisco Gimenez, *G. de* Cempoala. *De México desta casa de San Francisco*, 27 *Marzo*, 1531. *Coleccion de* Muñoz, MS., tom. 79.

and thoughtful men—for such the monks and ecclesiastics must be held to be, looking before and after, knowing many of the issues of history, and often appealing to great and general principles,—are steadily arrayed against the mere conquering soldier,—as the good Bishop Zumarraga and his confraternity, against Nuño de Guzman and his followers. The Bishop, too, displays some of the courage of the soldier, for all offices were less divided in those days. In his letters to Spain, he said that God knew he was not moved to complain because the Auditors had deprived him of his tithes, since his "pastoral habit would assure him honour and esteem; that, with some saddle-bags for a wallet, he should know how to seek his living, which he would account as the highest felicity, if it were done in the service of God, and for the honour and conscience of the King."

Then, again, in these transactions at Mexico may be seen the old contest between Church and State, of which the Auditors dexterously availed themselves in their complaints to the Emperor, when they accused the Bishop of meddling with the civil authorities.

Charles V. is made acquainted with the state of the Government at Mexico. 1529.

All these complaints and recriminations from the chief men in Mexico, which probably came together, and were delivered to Charles the Fifth at Barcelona, as he was on his way to Italy after the Treaty of Cambray, must have been a source of considerable disappointment and mortification to him; and we cannot but feel for the Emperor what must have been felt by most persons for the

B. XIV. Ch. 5.

great Cardinal Ximenes, when he was told by Las Casas that his mission of the Jeronimites would fail. There could have been little doubt, in any statesman's mind, that Nuño de Guzman must be removed, and the Auditors superseded, "these ministers," to use the sarcastic words of HERRERA, "having industriously (*i.e.*, with artfulness and pertinacity) conformed themselves to attend in no respect to the instructions which had been given to them."* Charles the Fifth seems to have submitted the whole affair to his Government in Spain, and not merely to have referred to them the immediate question connected with the conduct of the *Audiencia*, but the general and great question of the liberty of the Indians—whether they were to be put in *encomienda* or not.

Charles V. refers the affairs of Mexico to his Ministers.

This was one of the crises of legislation for the Indies—one of those signal occasions for statesmen which are not noticed in connexion with well-fought battles or prominent events of any kind, but which more nearly resemble (though in a humble way) those remarkable days or hours in the lives of great inventors, when the true thought comes suddenly upon them, and in a moment something

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* "Que industriosamente se havian conformado aquellos ministros, para en nada guardar las Instrucciones, que se les dieron." — HERRERA, *Hist. de las Indias*, dec. 4, lib. 7, cap. 8.

I am informed by Mr. J. R. Chorley, a most accomplished Spanish scholar, to whom I am exceedingly indebted for valuable suggestions and criticisms, that *industriosamente* in that age meant "cunningly." I have, however, kept the word "industriously," fancying that Herrera intended, with some humorousness, to express the resolute labour as well as the artfulness with which these worthless auditors disobeyed their instructions.

is seen and determined, which is to affect mankind for ever after. That the Emperor had at this time made this reference to his Council in Spain, and that the Council had pronounced a clear decision upon it, were facts known to LAS CASAS;* but the whole importance and magnitude of the transaction have only been ascertained since the archives of Spain have been brought to light in modern times.† It was from Genoa,‡ and while the Emperor was engaged in inspecting his new conquests in Italy, that he wrote to his Government in Spain, of which the Empress was the head, commanding that a great Junta should be formed, consisting of the Council of State, the Council of the Royal Revenues, and the Council of the Indies. The reports from

A most important Junta held in Spain in reference to the Indies. 1529.

* LAS CASAS, *Sobre el Remedio Octavo*, Razon 19, p. 205.

† Herrera gives a long account of a Junta held at Barcelona; but I am nearly sure he was mistaken, and that the Emperor, in the hurry of a journey to Italy, had no time to constitute any such Junta. Besides, if there had been a junta of this kind, why should the matter have been referred again immediately to the Great Councils of Spain? MUÑOZ observes of Herrera, — "Generalmente Herrera no hizo mas que juntar retazos y extractos, á manera de quien dispone por el órden de los años y aun de los meses y dias las narraciones tomadas de todas partes, como materiales para escribir una historia. Fortuna que era hombre docto y juicioso; sino, fueran innumerables los errores de estas sus memorias, segun la precipitacion con que las ordenó."— MUÑOZ, *Hist. del Nuevo-Mundo*, Prólogo, p. 23.

‡ "Vuestra Magestad desde Génova, vistas las causas í razones que de Nueva-España de Governador, Religiosos, í otras personas vinieron embió á mandar que nos juntasemos los del Consejo Real, í de la Hacienda, con el Presidente, í los del Consejo de Yndias."—*Al* EMPERADOR, *el* ARZOBISPO DE SANTIAGO, *Presidente del Consejo Real, í el* CONDE (DE OSORNO), DON GARCIA MANRIQUE; *de Madrid*, 10 *Diciembre*, 1529. *Coleccion de* MUÑOZ, MS., tom. 78.

B. XIV. Ch. 5.

New Spain, and the already numerous royal orders and laws, which had been published in reference to the three great branches of Indian government, namely, the kind treatment, the liberty, and the conversion of the Indians (*para el buen tratamiento, libertad i conversion de los Indios*),* were to be laid formally before the Council, for them to decide upon the future legislation that would be necessary "for the discharge of His Majesty's conscience, and the good government of those regions."

Cortes asked for his opinion.

At some time about this period it is probable that the Council for the Indies asked for the opinion of Cortes in the matters of Indian slavery and *encomiendas;* for there exists a letter without date, written by Cortes to the Emperor, in reference to the question before the Council of the Indies.

Cortes discusses the whole subject with great brevity, force, and logical power. In order to secure the conquest, there must, he says, be a sufficient number of Spaniards in the newly-conquered land. These men must be supported. They cannot be paid in money, and the next most convenient mode of payment will be by *encomiendas.* He then touches on the danger of depriving the Spaniards of their Indians, and suggests that the possession of these Indians tends to make the Spaniards root themselves in the new lands, whence will spring taxes and customs' duties for His Majesty.

He is, therefore, of opinion that the Indians

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* *Coleccion de* Muñoz, MS., tom. 78.

should be given to the Spaniards. But the questions then remain—Who should give them? to whom should they be given? and how should they be given?*

To decide these difficult questions he suggests a reference to the past history of the conquest in the Indies;† and, alluding to the ruin which had taken place in the West India Islands, he desires that it should be investigated whether this mischief proceeded from the conquest or from the course of government afterwards.‡

Cortes refers to the history of the West India Islands.

He suggests that no discovery or conquest should be attempted without the express licence of the Emperor, and that certain qualifications should be required in the person who is to receive any such licence.

With regard to making slaves, his opinion is, that on no pretext should it be allowed in the course of conquest. But when countries have been conquered, if a rebellion should take place, he would then allow the captives to be made slaves. With regard to the slaves in Mexico, he thinks that many of them have been made slaves unjustly; but he would not approve of any investigation into this matter, on account of the difficulty. He would not, however, have their

* "Pero resta dezir lo que se á de dar, y á quien y cómo, que es donde pende todo."—Autograph letter of CORTES to the Emperor, signed EL MARQUES DEL VALLE, in the possession of Mr. Henry Stevens, of Vermont, which, it is to be hoped, will soon be given to the world.

† "Lo primero advertir ante todas cosas en saver qué es la que se tubo en las conquistas que se an hecho?"—*Ut supra.*

‡ "Saber si este daño proçedió de la conquista ó del proçeso de la governaçion?" — *Ut supra.*

B. XIV. Ch. 5. children brought up as slaves. Such were the counsels of Cortes; but the Junta summoned by Charles came to a much more favourable conclusion respecting the Indians.

Dec. 10, 1529. The result of this great Council's deliberations was communicated to the Emperor by the Archbishop of Santiago and Don Garcia Manrique, Conde de Osorno, in these words:—"It has appeared to all of us, that entire liberty should be given to the Indians, and that all the *encomiendas* which have been made of them should be taken away; and because it appears that to take them away at one stroke would produce inconvenience, and that the Spaniards might desert the land, that a moderate tribute should be fixed for the Indians to pay, and that the half of that tribute should be given for the first year to the *Encomenderos*, and afterwards Your Majesty will be able to give vassals to whosoever shall deserve it, reserving for yourself the head townships." The emphatic order on this subject is given in one word (*Fiat*), "Let it be done," which is placed after the paragraph, quoted above, of the Report.*

Recommendations of the Junta.

Great credit must be given to the Court of

* "Ha parecido á todos que á los indios se debe dar entera libertad í quitarse todas las encomiendas que esten hechas dellos, í porque quitarse de golpe parece traeria inconvenientes í los Spañoles por esta causa podrian desamparar la tierra, que se señale un tributo moderado que paguen los indios, í la mitad deste, el primer año, se dé á las personas que agora los tienen encomendados, í despues podrá Vuestra Magestad dar Vasallos á quien lo mereciere, tomando para sí las cabezeras. (Fiat)."—*Coleccion de* Muñoz, MS., tom. 78.

Spain and to the highest officers of that kingdom, for the determination which had thus been come to. It was a determination which would have saved innumerable lives and preserved in good order large taxable communities, occupying the most fruitful parts of the earth. Indeed, if this decree had been abided by, it might have established the power of Charles the Fifth upon such a foundation as would have given Europe more real ground for dread than if that monarch had been uniformly successful in his contests with England, Germany, and France. Spain would then have been all that, for one or two generations, it was supposed to be. Protestantism would have had a much harder battle to fight, and the world might again have had to fear a Universal Empire.

An unfailing supply of hardy soldiers from Spain and Germany—an abundant and *continuous* influx of revenue from the Indies,—what might not have been expected from such a conjunction of resources?

But as the danger was to proceed from good government of distant colonies, and wise internal administration (so seldom seen to be the true strength of states), the world might well have felt secure, even had it known of the salutary determination just adopted by the Great Junta of Spain in reference to the government of the Indies.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SECOND AUDIENCIA ARRIVES IN MEXICO—PROCEEDINGS OF THE AUDITORS—GREAT ERROR IN THEIR INSTRUCTIONS ABOUT ENCOMIENDAS—SEVERITY TOWARDS THE COLONISTS—THE NUMBER OF ORPHANS IN NEW SPAIN.

B. XIV. Ch. 6.

THAT ever-recurring difficulty—to find a head and hand which should carry into execution good laws,—appears to have been fully present to the minds of the royal councillors; for, in the same letter in which they announced their unanimous opinion to His Majesty respecting the liberty of the Indians, they suggested that a bold and prudent "caballero," a man of good estate (*hacendado*), should be sent as President of the Audiencia. The Conde de Oropesa was named, but he would not accept the office. Afterwards, the Mariscal de Fromesta, and Don Antonio de Mendoza, son of the Marqués de Mondejar, were applied to; but their demands were so exorbitant (*tan desaforadas*), that the Council informed His Majesty that their thoughts were turned to others.*

Dec. 10, 1529.

It is not surprising that men of great name and station in Spain, who fulfilled the requisite conditions of being bold, prudent, and of large

* *Coleccion de* Muñoz, MS., tom. 78.

estate, should demand extraordinary powers and privileges, before undertaking a charge which no one hitherto had come well out of. Lists have been made of the conquerors and governors in the New World, as of men all of whose careers were signalized by miserable or disgraceful terminations; and in an age which had Machiavelli in its hands, and when politics had begun to be considered scientifically, it was not difficult to know that one of the most lamentable positions in the world is to hold an office of great state and great apparent power, and in reality to be bound by all manner of invisible fetters, being secretly at the mercy of some obscure official people around you or at home.

The difficulty, for the present, of finding a man of weight to preside over the new *Audiencia* was obviated by choosing a person who had already filled a similar office, undertaken at a period of like confusion in another part of the Indies. This was Don Sebastian Ramirez de Fuenleal, Bishop of St. Domingo in Hispaniola, who had been sent to that island to be President of an *Audiencia* which had been some time established there. Mankind were certainly not wise and good enough then, and have hardly since arrived at sufficient wisdom and goodness, to act harmoniously together in councils and commissions. The auditors of Hispaniola were at feud with the other royal officers, and probably with one another, when Don Sebastian arrived in the island; but he was a man of wisdom, energy, and official experience, having served in the *cancillería* of

Don Sebastian Ramirez chosen as President of the *Audiencia.*

B. XIV. Ch. 6.

Granada; and in this new office his success is thus briefly described:—"He gave authority to the administration of justice. The rivalries between the Auditors and the other royal officers ceased. Each one kept within the limits of his office; and in all respects there was quiet."*

The Government of Spain was fortunate in being able to command the services of such a man as Don Sebastian for the presidency of the new *Audiencia* to be sent to Mexico. This body was entirely renewed, as Auditors were sent, not only to replace those who had died on first arriving in the country, but also to supersede the two who had lived to do so much mischief. All the new Auditors were licentiates, and their names were Vasco de Quiroga, Alonzo Maldonado, Francisco de Çeynos, and Juan de Salmerón.

Audiencia renewed.

This last-mentioned Auditor was a man of some experience in the Indies, having been Alcalde Mayor of the province of Castilla del Oro. To each of them was given a large salary —600,000 *maravedis*,†—in order that they might not be tempted to undertake any private enterprize for gain. The Empress wrote to Don Sebastian with her own hand, informing him of his appointment, and mentioning that the new Auditors would call for him at St. Domingo, on their way out to Mexico.

Large salary for Auditors.

* "En sustancia, dió autoridad á la Justicia: cesaron las competencias entre los Oidores, í Oficiales Reales: cada uno estaba en los límites de su Oficio: í en todo huvo quietud."—HERRERA, *Hist de las Indias*, dec. 4, lib. 6, cap. 6.

† Equal, I believe, to 41*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* in English money—a large salary in those days.

This new *Audiencia* had very complicated business awaiting them. The representations which the former one had made against Cortes had been so manifestly unfair, that it was intrusted to these new Auditors to take another *residencia* of Cortes; then they were to take a *residencia* of Nuño de Guzman; they were to settle the dispute between him and the Bishop Protector; they were publicly to reprimand the former Auditors; and we have already seen, from the proceedings of the Great Junta before mentioned, that these new Auditors would have to execute a very difficult commission with regard to the liberty of the Indians, if anything was to be done in accordance with the important decision already pronounced by that Council.

Complicated business awaiting these Auditors.

Amongst other instructions given to them, there is one which suited well with Spanish stateliness, as it settled the form and order in which they were to enter Mexico, the chief seat of their government. The great seal was to be placed in a little casket, borne by a mule covered with velvet; and when they entered the city, the President was to be on the right hand of the seal, and one of the Auditors on the left, the other Auditors going before, according to their rank. They were all to be lodged in the house of the Marquis del Valle. The Marquis himself was allowed at that time to return to New Spain; but I believe he was not for the present to enter Mexico,—probably not until his *residencia* had been completed. He went back, clothed with the authority of Captain-General; and so far, at least,

The order of their entry into Mexico settled.

Cortes returns to New Spain, July 15, 1530.

B. XIV. Ch. 6.

Cortes was not treated unwisely or ungenerously by the Spanish Government. He was received with vivid demonstrations of delight by great numbers of the people in New Spain, both Spaniards and Indians. Indeed, they offered to place themselves at his disposal, and to put his enemies in the *Audiencia* to death. They were clamorous in telling him what they had suffered during his absence; but he, with his accustomed prudence, did what he could to soothe them, entirely put aside their offers of vengeance, and even strove to divert them by public games and entertainments.

The second *Audiencia* arrives at Mexico. 1531.

On the 15th of September, 1530, a few months after the departure of the Marquis, the new auditors sailed from Seville, and arrived in New Spain at the beginning of the year 1531. The form of their entry into Mexico was somewhat disturbed by the absence of their President, the Bishop of St. Domingo, whom they were not able to bring with them, as they could not succeed in entering the port of St. Domingo, "by reason," as an old chronicler tells us, "of the things of the sea being more doubtful than certain."* This was to be regretted, for graver reasons than the injury to the pomp of their entrance into Mexico; but the new Auditors, without waiting for their President, commenced their arduous business; and we find, from a letter written to the Emperor some months afterwards,

* "Por ser las cosas de la Mar, mas dudosas, que ciertas."—TORQUEMADA, *Monarquia Indiana*, lib. 5, cap. 9.

that not a day had passed, not even the festivals of the Church, in which they had not been sitting in council ten or twelve hours together, for the dispatch of business, dealing, as they graphically express it, "with a new land, new kinds of business, and with minds inclined to dangerous innovations, which every day are excited by new thoughts."* This feverish love of novelty, the necessary consequence of the unexampled adventures in the New World, must always have been a serious element of difficulty for any government to encounter at that period.

One of the first things which the *Audiencia* had to settle was, what they should do with Nuño de Guzman, as regarded the war which he was then waging in Nueva-Gallicia. In their conclusions on this point, they showed a great deal of worldly prudence. They admitted that the war was not well begun, but now that it had commenced, they thought it must be persevered in, taking care that it should be conducted in a different manner from what it had been. If they were to withdraw the army, it would prevent conversion, it would make the Indians too bold, and, what, I doubt not, weighed not a little in the minds of these prudent Auditors, it would let loose a number of vicious, gambling fellows

Proceedings of the Auditors.

* "Desde que venimos no ha havido dia ni aun fiestas que dejamos de estar juntos en negocios diez ó doce horas—tierra nueva, negocios nuevos, ánimos amigos de nobedades que cada dia se lebantan con nuevos pensamientos."—*Al* EMPERADOR, *Los Oidores de México*, SALMERÓN—MALDONADO—ÇEYNOS—QUIROGA; *México*, 14 *Agosto*, 1531. *Coleccion de* MUÑOZ, MS., tom. 79.

B. XIV. Ch. 6.

who were supported out of the abundance of the Indian provinces invaded, the more settled province of Mexico being thus delivered from such a "pernicious" body of men.

The Bishop of Mexico honoured.

It is pleasing to find that the new auditors had received instructions that they should honour and console the brave Bishop of Mexico, for the indignities and privations he had endured at the hands of the last *Audiencia*. He was reinstated in his see, and must have had the full privileges of his office as Protector of the Indians conceded to him.

The branding-iron intrusted to him.

The branding-iron of "ransom," as it was called, was confided to him—a strange thing for a bishop to be intrusted with, but which could not have been in better hands, for he afterwards makes mention, when writing to the Emperor, that in no single case had he pronounced against the freedom of any Indian who had been brought before him in order to have the question of the Indian's liberty or servitude decided.

Religiosos to be sent from Spain.

Another matter which the auditors took great interest in, was that of procuring *religiosos* to be sent from Spain. There were at that time (1531) only a hundred of both communities—Dominicans and Franciscans,—in New Spain, a most inadequate number for the work before them. Accordingly, the auditors sent to the Emperor, beseeching him to send out more monks, being, doubtless, of the same mind with a subsequent Viceroy of Mexico, who, when there was much question about building forts throughout the country (a suggestion urged upon him

The Viceroy Mendoza's estimate of their value.

by the authorities at home), replied, that towers with soldiers were dens of thieves, but that convents with monks were as good as walls and castles for keeping the Indians in subjection.

In the great matter of *encomiendas*, the proceedings of the Auditors were as follows. They took away the *encomiendas* that belonged to Nuño de Guzman, to the late Auditors, and to all the royal officers. These Indians they "incorporated in the Crown" (to use a legal expression of that time), and they then placed *corregidors* in the Indian *pueblos* which were thus dealt with. With regard to what was the critical point in this question of *encomiendas*—whether there should be any at all,—the auditors took the following step. They incorporated in the Crown such *encomiendas* as fell vacant, either by the death or the absence of the *Encomendero*, or by his delinquency. This very important and very vigorous proceeding of theirs does not seem to have attracted much notice from the principal historians of the Indies;* but we see from private letters how great a commotion it caused, and what a bold measure it was. It appears, from a letter of the Licentiate Salmerón, which is dated the 23rd of January, 1531, that the auditors were acting in accordance with secret instructions drawn up in conformity with the opinion of the Junta and the "*fiat*" of Charles the Fifth. As might clearly be foreseen, the colonists would find these new orders difficult to bear, but Sal-

Royal officers deprived of their *encomiendas*.

The auditors incorporate in the Crown the vacant *encomiendas*.

* Such as Herrera and Torquemada.

B. XIV. Ch. 6.

merón was determined to execute them. "Let who will be angered," he writes, "the command of His Majesty must be fulfilled. Although it may be to the disgust of the Spaniards who dwell here, it is in favour of the Indians, and their preservation, and therefore holy and just."*

There is almost always, in these general orders from the Court of Spain, something which appears to us, rendered wise by the event, either too vague, and therefore affording an easy outlet for the rapacity and severity of the conquerors, or too harsh and abrupt as affecting the ruling class, and therefore making the laws inapplicable. It must be remembered that these laws, when they militated against the interests of the resident Spaniards, had to be applied, not to good easy citizens, but, for the most part, to hardy warriors, who had been accustomed to listen to very mild and soothing words, even from great captains and conquerors; and any one who bears these things in mind, will see that the provision of the Council, whereby the *Encomenderos* were to have one year's tribute only, was not merely very harsh, but certainly most impolitic. If William the Conqueror had attempted any measure similar to this when sharing with his

Great error in instructions about *encomiendas.*

* ". . . . Havia necesidad de tenello comenzado para hacer la revocacion í provision de las encomiendas de los Indios por la forma que Su Magestad en lo secreto manda, la qual se ha de sentir mucho . . . . enójese quien quiera lo mandado por Su Magestad se ha de cumplir, í aunque sea en desabrimiento de los Españoles que acá residen, es en fabor í conserbacion de los Indios, í por lo tanto Santo í Justo." — *Al Consejo de Indias*, Licenciado Salmerón; *México*, 23 *de Enero*, 1531. *Coleccion de* Muñoz, MS., tom. 79.

barons the conquered lands of England, he would soon have been driven back to the narrow sphere of his own original dominions. If *encomiendas* were to be done away with at this early period after the Conquest, it could only be done by the most self-denying liberality on the part of the greatest *Encomendero*—the monarch of Spain himself. The measure of compensation proposed for the Spanish colonists was so inadequate, that it gave rise to a most ludicrous misconception of the whole purport of the royal order. The sanguine among the colonists, when the new Auditors had come, and were taking away the *encomiendas*, sustained themselves with the hope that all this was done to make a description of the country, in order to frame a better repartition, and one by which the *encomiendas* should be given to them in perpetuity.* Meanwhile, those who took a gloomier view, to the number of five hundred, quitted Mexico to seek their fortunes elsewhere. These, I fancy, must have been the grave Castillians: the lively Andalucians, who were more likely to maintain a cheerful view of the proceedings of the *Audiencia*, were those, probably, who remained. Meanwhile, a sad result, which was communicated to His Majesty, ensued,—that the *Encomenderos* who were not yet deprived of their

How the colonists bear these new measures.

* "Desde que vino esta Audiencia í quitó los repartimientos se han ido 500 de esta Ciudad, í desbaratado muchas haciendas í ganados. Algunos se sostienen con la esperanza de que esto ha sido por hacer descripcion de la tierra, í repartirla mejor i á perpetuidad."—Á Su Magestad, Gerónimo Lopez; *México, 4 de Julio, 1532. Coleccion de* Muñoz, MS., tom. 79.

B. XIV. Ch. 6.

Indians worked them in every way they could, seeing what a brief time their human possessions (especially if they were not of the number of the original conquerors, for these still had hope), would remain to them.

The various reforms in the Indies which were projected at Court, and some of which had been carried into execution in New Spain, may have told considerably upon the fortunes of Cortes—a man who, if he received much, always spent much; with whom, to use an expression of King Ferdinand's, money never rested. The expenses he incurred in preparing for expeditions in the South Sea were very great, and not remunerative. Whatever may have been the causes, it is a striking fact, that there came a period when the conqueror of Mexico could not afford to live for more than a month at a time in the great city which he had conquered, devastated, repeopled, and rebuilt. "I have enough to do," he says (in a letter written at Mexico, and dated in the year 1538), "to maintain myself in a village, where I have my wife, without daring to reside in this city, or come into it, as I have not the means to live in it; and if sometimes I come because I cannot help doing so, and remain in it a month, I am obliged to fast for a year."*

Poverty of the greatest resident in New Spain.

* "Yo tengo harto que hacer en mantenerme en un aldea donde tengo mi muger, sin osar residir en esta cibdad ni venir á ella por no tener que comer en ella; y si alguna vez vengo porque no puedo escusarlo, si estoy en ella un mes, tengo necesidad de ayunar un año."—*Carta del* MARQUÉS DEL VALLE, *escrita desde Méjico con fecha de 20 de Setiembre, de 1538, al*

Those who care to observe human affairs curiously have often speculated upon the change that would be produced by a very slight knowledge of the future. If men could see, they say, but ten years in advance, the greater part of mankind would not have heart to continue their labours. The farmer would quit his plough, the merchant his merchandize, the scholar his books. Still, there would remain a few faithful to their pursuits—lovers, fanatics, and benevolent men. But of all those whom ten years' prescience would induce to lay down their work in utter discontent at the future as it unrolled itself before their wondering eyes, the conqueror, perhaps, would be the man who first would stay his hand. For the results of conquest are among the greatest disappointments in the world. The policy which seems so judicious and so nicely adjusted that it well repays the anxious nights of thought that have been spent upon it, would, even with the small foreknowledge of ten years, be seen to be inconsequent, foolish, and mischievous. The ends which appear so precious that the blood of armies may justly be spilt in the hope of attaining them, would be clearly discerned to be noxious and ludicrous. All the vast crimes which are gilded by motives of policy would be seen in their naked horror; and the most barbarous of men or emperors would start

A slight knowledge of the future would paralyse the arm of the conqueror.

PRESIDENTE DEL CONSEJO REAL DE LAS INDIAS, *sobre el armada compuesta de nueve navíos que tenia aderezada en las costas del mar del Sur en Nueva-España para el descubrimiento de la misma mar. Doc. Inéd.*, tom. 4, p. 197.

B. XIV. Ch. 6.

back appalled at the sufferings he was about to inflict upon the world for inadequate and futile causes. When, however, the conqueror happened to be a fanatic, the future on this earth would not disturb him. He would be equally ready to slaughter his thousands, to devastate provinces, and to ruin, as mostly happens, his own fortunes, whatever the ten years' annals written prophetically on the wall might disclose to him.

Cortes, as a statesman and a man of the world, might have shuddered, if he could have foreseen the fate of himself, his companions, and the nations he came to conquer. But, sheathed as he was in the impenetrable armour of fanaticism, he would probably have counted these things as no loss, provided that the True Faith should thereby be proclaimed more widely in the New World. This must be his excuse, and this, no doubt, was his comfort, when he contemplated the sorry end of his labours as regarded himself and his own fortunes.

The latter days of Cortes.

Later in life, we find him writing to the Emperor in the same strain of complaint.* The latter days of Cortes bear a strange resemblance to those of Columbus, and, indeed, to those of Charles the Fifth himself. Men of this great stamp seldom know when to put a limit to their exertions, and

* "Véome viejo, y pobre y empeñado en este reino en mas de veinte mil ducados, sin mas de ciento otros que he gastado de los que traje é me han enviado, que algunos dellos debo tambien, que los han tomado prestados para enviarme, y todos corren cambios." — *Carta ó Memorial de* HERNAN CORTES *al* EMPERADOR CARLOS V. *Valladolid, 3 de Febrero, de* 1544. *Doc. Inéd.*, tom. I, p. 45.

to occupy themselves solely in securing the conquests they have made. And, as the nature of things is always against an energetic man, some day or other, especially when he grows weaker and older, adverse circumstances, to his astonishment, triumph over him. Besides, even supposing him to be very prudent, and anxious to undertake nothing which he cannot master, the field for his exertions inevitably widens with success. Instead of a line to pursue, he has a large area to command. Envy meanwhile increases as he becomes more conspicuous. Many men lean upon him when he is known to be strong. His attention is distracted; and even without any deterioration of character, or failing of force, he is destroyed by the large development of new difficulties which grow up around him. As the early history of the Indies teems with commanders who ultimately prove unfortunate, it is but fair to look into the natural causes of failure which would beset them in any country, but which would be stronger in a newly-discovered country than elsewhere.

But, while we may admit that the *Encomenderos* were sometimes dealt with harshly in the remedial measures devised for the Indies by the home Government, we must not forget how greatly these Spanish colonists had abused their power. A striking result of this abuse is to be seen in the noble endeavours made by the new Auditors to provide homes and instruction for the numerous orphans who had lost their parents by

B. XIV. Ch. 6.

reason of the cruel work imposed upon them at the mines. One of the Auditors, by name Quiroga, writing to the Council of the Indies, says that the settlement of those Indian youths who have been bred up in the monasteries is a most important matter. "They are numerous," he declares, "as the stars of heaven and the sands of the sea; an immense number of orphans, whose fathers and mothers have perished in the mines through the rigour of our Spaniards." He proceeds to say, "This pious work will be in discharge of their conscience, and a great benefit to the land, the untilled parts of which will be broken up and cultivated, since our proposition is to make a settlement of them (the young Indians) in each district, at a distance from other *pueblos*, and in each settlement to place a monastery with three or four *religiosos*, who may incessantly cultivate these young plants to the service of God." He then celebrates their fitness for Christianity, their innate humility, their obedience, their carelessness for the things of this world, and, in fine, compares them to some smooth and soft surface, upon which any good impression may be made. "I offer myself," he says, "with the assistance of God, to undertake to plant a kind of Christians such as those were of the primitive Church; for God is as powerful now as then. I beseech that this thought may be favoured."*

Care of orphans.

The Auditor Quiroga's proposal.

* "Lo de las poblaciones de muchachos indios dotrinados en monasterios, i casados por manos de los Frailes es cosa importantísima. Ellos son tan sin cuento como las estrellas del cielo í las arenas de la mar, muchísimos huérfanos, cuyos

I do not quote the above letter of the good Auditor, who, it must be remembered, was a lawyer, and therefore less likely to be led away by a love for monastic institutions, to show the excellent intentions and efforts of this *Audiencia*, or to point out this as an early germ of the great system of missions which was afterwards adopted in Paraguay and elsewhere, but to manifest how large must have been the destruction of Indian life, and what need there was for continual interference in behalf of this gentle, patient, delicate people. When thinking of the different life they led before and after the Conquest, it seems as if the fate of the whole race might be compared to that of some beautiful and graceful maidens, who, on some fatal festal day, had playfully ranged themselves in exquisite order, to support on their heads, as living caryatides, a slight weight of fruit and flowers, which had all of a sudden hardened into marble, and crushed them under it.

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padres í madres han muerto en las minas por el rigor de nuestros Españoles. Será descargo de su conciencia esta obra pia, en gran beneficio de la tierra, cuyos baldíos se romperán í cultivarán, pues se piensa poner una poblacion dellos en cada comarca, distante de otros pueblos, í en cada un Monasterio con 3, ó 4 religiosos que incesantemente cultiben estas plantas en servicio de Dios. Desta gente se hace lo que se quiere: Son docilísimos, í andando buena diligencia se les imprime mui bien la doctrina cristiana: tienen innata la humildad obediencia í pobreza, í menosprecio del mundo í desnudez, andando descalzos con el cabello largo í sin cosa alguna en la cabeza, amicti Sindole super nudo como los Apóstoles; en fin como tabla rasa í muy blanda. Yo me ofrezco con la ayuda de Dios á plantar un género de cristianos como los de la primitiba iglesia; pues poderoso es Dios tanto agora como entonces. Suplico se faborezca este pensamiento." — *Al Consejo* — Licenciado Quiroga; *México*, 14 *Agosto*, 1531. *Coleccion de* Munoz, MS., tom. 79.

CHAPTER VII.

THE IMPORTATION OF NEGROES—MONOPOLIES OF LICENCES—DEPOPULATION OF THE WEST INDIA ISLANDS.

B. XIV. Ch. 7.

FAR otherwise was it with the negroes, the history of whose importation into the Indies we must now resume. They flourished in the new land. It was at first thought that they were nearly immortal, as for some time no one had seen a negro die, except by hanging; and it was noticed that negroes and oranges seemed to have found their natural soil in the island of Hispaniola.* The system of granting monopolies of licences to import negroes was continued. The reader will recollect that the first monopoly by Charles the Fifth, for which Las Casas has been held so much to blame, was given in the year 1517 to the Governor de Bresa,† the Grand

Importation of negroes.

Monopolies of licences.

1517.

* "Probaron tan bien los Negros en la Isla Española, que se tuvo por opinion, que si no acontecia ahorcar al Negro, nunca moria, porque no se havia visto ninguno, que de su enfermedad acabase, i así hallaron los Negros en la Española, su propria Tierra, como los Naranjos, que les es mas natural, que su Guinea." — HERRERA, *Hist. de las Indias*, dec. 2, lib. 3, cap. 14.

† Lorens de Gomenot, Governor de Bresa, Baron de Montinay, and Knight of the Golden Fleece. (See *Doc. Ined.*, tom. 13, p. 569.) The Governor de Bresa was described as a Fleming in a former part of this work.

Master of the King's household; and that it was for the importation of four thousand negroes in eight years. The next great monopoly was granted in 1523, before the expiration of the first, to the same personage; and it also gave licence for the passing to the Indies of four thousand negroes in the course of eight years.* The representatives at Court of the different islands remonstrated against this grant, alleging the scarcity of slaves which it had caused. The monopoly was recalled, and instead of it, permission was given for the importation of fifteen hundred negroes (half to be men and half women) to Hispaniola: three hundred to Cuba; five hundred to Porto Rico; three hundred to Jamaica; and five hundred to the province of Castilla del Oro on the mainland. De Bresa was compensated by having assigned to him the customs duties on the fifteen hundred negroes imported into Hispaniola. It was also ordered that,

1523.

A second monopoly granted to De Bresa.

The grant recalled.

It appears, however, that he was a Savoyard. The Venetian ambassador, Contarini, thus describes him.—"Il governatore di Bressa, Savoiardo, è pur egli degli allievi, over creati di madama Margherita. Costui ha l'ufficio di maggiordomo maggiore di Cesare, che è onoratissimo luogo, ed è uomo da bene, religioso, prudente, ma un poco frigido. Costui sempre ha aderito al gran cancelliere in tutti li suoi progressi."—*Relazioni*, vol. 2°, p. 56.

My attention has been drawn to this fact about De Bresa, by my friend Mr. James Doyle, whose skill and perseverance in historical research have been often taxed by me throughout this work.

* "Lorenço de Garrebod (without doubt, a Spanish version of the name Lorens de Gomenot), mayor domo mayor del Emperador, tuvo licencia para passar 4000 esclavos negros, hombres, y mugeres, á las Indias, en espacio de ocho años."—HERRERA, *Hist. de las Indias*, dec. 3, lib. 5, cap. 8. (Año, 1523.)

B. XIV. Ch. 7. in any household, the negroes should not be more than a fourth of the household, and that the Christians should be well armed.*

1527. In 1527 a thousand negroes were allowed to
1528. be imported into Cuba. In 1528 another great monopoly was granted to certain Germans for the importation of four thousand negroes.†

The Indians of the islands wasting away. 1531. Meanwhile, the Indians of the islands were rapidly wasting away. The Bishop of St. Domingo in Hispaniola, writing to the Empress in 1531, informs her that the perpetuity of that island and also of Porto Rico and Cuba consists in the negroes, and he suggests that they should be imported without licence.‡ This suggestion was also formally recommended by the *Audiencia* of that island.§

1537. In 1537 the Empress is informed that in Cuba very few natives remain. In twenty *estancias*

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* "Se mandó, que nadie pudiesse tener negros, sin que tuviesse la tercera parte de Christianos, que estuviessen bien provehidos de armas, de manera que siempre huviesse las tres partes de Christianos, y una de negros."—HERRERA, *Hist. de las Indias*, dec. 3, lib. 5, cap. 8.

† "En lo de los negros, el Rey mandó tomar assiento con Enrique Ciguer, y Gerónimo Sailler, Alemanes, para que se llevassen á las Indias, dentro de cierto tiempo quatro mil esclavos negros." — HERRERA, *Hist. de las Indias*, dec. 4, lib. 4, cap. 11.

‡ "La perpetuidad desta isla, í aun de San Juan í Cuba consiste en los negros: Débese mandar puedan traerlos todos libremente."—*A* LA EMPERATRIZ, *el* OBISPO Í PRESIDENTE DE SANTO DOMINGO; *de oi* 11 *de Agosto*, 1531. *Coleccion de* MÚÑOZ, MS., tom. 79.

§ "Quanto á la Isla Española, tambien el Audiencia Real buscava sus remedios para su conservacion: pedia, que se mandasse conceder licencia general de los esclavos negros, pagando solamente los derechos de almoxarifazgo."—HERRERA, *Hist. de las Indias*, dec. 5, lib. 2, cap. 5.

that were visited, only a hundred and thirty Indians were found, including the Indian slaves that had been imported. The treatment of the negroes seems to have been almost injudiciously lenient. It appears that they had a holiday of four months.* In 1542, one of His Majesty's chaplains, who had traversed the Island of Hispaniola, informs the Council of the Indies that, according to his belief, there were from twenty-five to thirty thousand negroes in that island, and the number of the masters was twelve hundred.† In 1550, a letter addressed to the Emperor in council informs His Majesty that, "there is scarcely a single native left in the island," and that, of

B. XIV. Ch. 7.

1542.

1550.

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* "Este mes de Febrero segun lo mandado por Vuestra Magestad visité las estancias de esta Ciudad para ver como indios í negros eran dotrinados í tratados. Resulta lo que dixe que no haviendo Clérigos no havia dotrina. Parecen pocos Indios. En 20 estancias (que trae la visita original adjunta á esta Carta en 8 foj.) del termino de la Ciudad se quentan 130 entre hombres í mugeres asi naturales libres como de otras partes esclavos (entre quienes entran los que llaman Guanajos), porque solemos embiarlos á minas destinando para hacer estancias í haciendas los negros que trabajan como quatro Indios. Los negros son en manera de mas calidad que los Indios. Por lo comun se les da de comer bien. (La comida era Cacabi, boniatos í carne). Les dan su huelga de 4 meses segun las órdenes."—*A la* Emperatriz, Gonzalo de Guzman; *desta* I[a] *Fernandina*, 8 *Abril*, 1537. *Coleccion de* Muñoz, MS., tom. 81.

† "Estando yo en esa Corte, sirviendo en la capilla de Su Magestad como Capellan suyo, muchas veces fué preguntado de esta Ysla por la haver andado toda una vez y muchas partes della quatro ó cinco, visitando los lugares indios í españoles.

"Creo yo que pasan de 25 ó treinta mil negros los que hai en esta isla, no hai en toda ella mil doscientos vecinos digo que tengan haciendas en el campo í saquen oro á quien yo tengo por vecinos í pobladores."—*Al Consejo de Yndias, el* Arcediano Alberto de Castro; *Santo Domingo, 26 Marzo*, 1542. *Coleccion de* Muñoz, MS., tom. 83.

B. XIV. Ch. 7.

those Indians who had been brought to the island as slaves, the greater part had fled into the depths of the country, as "the companionship of the Spaniards is abhorred by them." Those that had remained in the town had been educated, and were *ladinos*. The good intentions of His Majesty with regard to the Indians could not, therefore, take effect.* Meanwhile, the negroes were being gradually imported into the New World. In 1536. 1536 a monopoly was granted for the introduction of four thousand negroes (one third to be women) in four years.†

A monopoly for the importation of 23,000 negroes. 1542.

In July, 1542, a monopoly was granted for the importation into the Indies of twenty-three thou-

* "Á los Prelados de Santo Domingo San Francisco í Merced de esta Ciudad se dieron las casas para que entendieran en enseñar á los Indios la doctrina í nuestra lengua. Aceptaron con gran boluntad. Pero advertimos que en esta isla no hai casi ninguno de los naturales. De los de afuera esclavos ahora libres, los mas se han hido tierra adentro porque les es aborrecible la compañía de Espanoles. Los que en esta Ciudad han quedado son mui ladinos í saben bien la lengua. Algunos hai en hatos de vacas mui lejos. Así que no habrá efecto alguno lo mandado." —*Española; al* Emperador *en el Consejo,* Licenciado Grajeda, Hurtado; *Santo Domingo, 30 de Diciembre, de* 1550. *Coleccion de* Muñoz, MS., tom. 85.

† "Dáseles facultad de llebar á indias 4000 esclavos en 4 años i venderlos al precio que puedan, siendo la ⅛ hembras. En estos 4 años á ninguno se dará licencia de pasar esclavos, salbo si se hace merced alguna para descubrimiento ó Conquista nueva de 100 esclavos í á algun Conquistador í poblador de llebar cada 2 esclavos.

"Por ello pagarán en la feria de octubre inmediata (esta de Valladolid, 1536) 26000 ducados.

"Parece no haber tenido efecto porque Alonso Caballero í Gaspar de Torres vecinos de Sevilla proponen lo mismo, refiriéndose á lo que se havia tratado con Rodrigo de Dueñas, con fecha 2 Noviembre, 1536, proponen sobre los 26000 ducados prestar á Su Magestad otros 14000 í hai otra minuta de asiento con estos."—*Minuta de Asiento de* Su Magestad *con* Enrique Einguer (probably

sand negroes,* and in the same year, in December, we find that the annual importation of negroes into Hispaniola was two thousand, and that for every hundred that entered openly two hundred were introduced secretly.† B. XIV. Ch. 7.

The money arising from the licences and customs duties on the importation of the negroes was employed in building the fortress-palaces of Madrid and Toledo.‡ Many of the noted buildings on the earth are of most questionable origin; but these two palaces must be allowed to enjoy a remarkable preeminence as monuments of folly and oppression. Other buildings have been erected solely at the cost of the suffering subjects of great despots, or by prisoners captured in war. But the blood-cemented walls of the Alcazar of Madrid might boast of being raised upon a complication of human suffering hitherto unparalleled How the palaces of Madrid and Toledo were built.

Ciguer) *Caballero de Santiago í Gentilhombre de la casa del Emperador, í* RODRIGO DE DUEÑAS. *Coleccion de* MUÑOZ, MS., tom. 80.

* "Capitulacion del Príncipe con Fernando Ochoa de Ochandiano, cambio en corte en que Su Alteza en nombre de Su Magestad le da 23000 licencias de esclavos para pasar á Yndias á ocho ducados cada uno í se obliga á que dentro de 7 años no dará otra licencia alguna."—*Corte. Al* PRÍNCIPE—CONSEJERO—LOPEZ—SANDOVAL—RIVADENEYRA. *Madrid, 4 de Julio, de* 1552. *Coleccion de* MUÑOZ, MS., tom. 86.

† "Aquí entran anualmente 2000 negros í tráenlos sin registro mas de lo que dicen los Maestres, i si dicen 100, entran doscientos ocultamente."—*Española, al* EMPERADOR, LICENCIADO ESTEBEZ; *Santo Domingo,* 10 *de Diciembre, de* 1552. *Coleccion de* MUÑOZ, MS., tom. 86.

‡ "Los dineros destas licencias y derechos que al Rey se dan por ellos, el Emperador asignó para edificar el Alcázar que hizo de Madrid, é el de Toledo, y con aquellos dineros ámbas se han hecho."—LAS CASAS, *Hist. de las Indias,* MS., lib. 3, cap. 128.

B. XIV. Ch. 7.

in the annals of mankind. The Indians had first to be removed by every kind of cruelty and misgovernment from the face of their native country, and the Africans had to endure bloody wars in their own country* before a sufficient number of them could be captured to meet the increasing demand for negro slaves. Each ducat spent upon these palaces was, at a moderate computation, freighted with ten human lives.

The apologists for Las Casas, who have sought to contend that he was in no wise concerned in the introduction of this traffic, have made a statement which that noble personage would have repudiated in the most unqualified manner. His conduct on this subject has been discussed at the proper place, and ample excuse has been shown for it. But he himself has repeated the expressions of his regret and repentance. "Of this advice," he says (speaking of the introduction of negroes), "which the Clerigo gave, he very soon afterwards found himself repentant, judging himself to have erred through inadvertence. For, after that he saw and had ascertained, as will appear, that the capture of negroes is as unjust as that of Indians, he perceived that the remedy which he had advised—for negroes to be brought hither, in order that Indians might be set free,—was not

The repentance of Las Casas.

* "Ytem, como los mismos véen que con tanta ansia los buscan y quieren, unos á otros se hacen injustas guerras, y por otras vias ilícitas se hurtan y venden á los Portugueses. Por manera que nosotros somos causa de todos los pecados que los unos y los otros cometen, sin los nuestros que en comprallos cometemos."—Las Casas, *Hist. de las Indias*, MS., lib. 3, cap. 128.

a discreet remedy, although he supposed at the time that the negroes were justly made captives. He has not, however, felt certain that his ignorance in this matter and his good intentions would excuse him before the Divine judgment."* B. XIV. Ch. 7.

The foregoing account of the depopulation of the West India Islands, and of the corresponding introduction of negro slavery there, will show that the main question of *encomiendas* was settled, as far as regards the regions first discovered by Columbus. On resuming the subject, therefore, we need not keep in mind the islands of Cuba, Hispaniola, Porto Rico, or Jamaica, nor, probably, the Pearl Coast, where, though there might be Indians to hunt after as slaves, there were none to be found in the state of good order and government which was requisite for the establishment of any such system as that of *encomiendas*.

The extensive governments of Mexico, Guatemala, and Peru, henceforward become the main field for the legislation of the mother country.

"Deste aviso que dió el Clérigo, no poco despues se halló á repiso juzgándose culpado por inadvertente. Porque como despues vido y averiguó segun parecerá ser tan injusto el captiverio de los negros como el de los Yndios, no fué discreto remedio el que aconsejó, que se truxesen negros para que se libertasen los Yndios, aunque él suponia que eran justamente captivos. Aunque no estubo cierto que la ignorancia que en este tubo y buena voluntad lo escusase delante el juicio divino." —Las Casas, *Hist. de las Indias*, MS., lib. 3, cap. 128.

CHAPTER VIII.

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE BISHOP-PRESIDENT IN NEW SPAIN—THE NEW AUDIENCIA DID NOT ABOLISH ENCOMIENDAS—WHY THEY FAILED TO DO SO—PROCEEDINGS IN SPAIN WITH RESPECT TO ENCOMIENDAS—THE CELEBRATED LAW OF SUCCESSION PASSED IN 1536.

B. XIV. Ch. 8.

IN Mexico we left the new Auditors, busy in providing a remedy for the abuses caused and fostered by the mal-administration of the first *Audiencia*. The Bishop-President (Don Sebastian Ramirez de Fuenleal) had arrived in 1531; and his vigour, intelligence, and knowledge of colonial affairs were rapidly brought to bear upon the difficulties that existed in Mexico. Far from looking upon Cortes as an enemy, the wise Bishop acted entirely in concert with the Captain-General. It was Don Sebastian's practice to take counsel with many persons, as to what ought to be done, but with the Marquis alone, or, at least, with very few persons, as to the mode of executing what had been resolved upon.*

The Bishop-President acts in concert with Cortes.

* "Procedia en todo, con parecer, y acuerdo de el Marqués de el Valle, con quien se tenia gran conformidad, porque un Ministro, y Consejero de Letras, buena intencion, y vida exemplar, siempre es gran parte, para reducir los Abusos á Policia; y era costumbre de este prudentísimo Presidente, comunicar con mu-

There was a certain breadth about the Bishop's administration which is clearly indicative of a wise governor. No single subject of government occupied his attention to the exclusion of others. He founded churches; he divided Mexico into parishes; he established a college, and was the first man to propose that a learned education should be given to the Indians. His efforts in this matter were successful; and it is curious that one of the best chroniclers of the Bishop's proceedings was instructed in the Mexican language by a most accomplished Indian, who had been educated at this college, and was Governor of Mexico (which seems to mean, of the Indians of Mexico, for they had a separate jurisdiction) for forty years.*

The Bishop's administration. 1531 to 1534.

He founds a college.

To beautify and improve the city was also an object with the Bishop-President. He caused stone bridges to be built, and provided a better supply of water for the town than it had had before. He also caused a small lake to be dried up

He beautifies and improves Mexico.

chos, lo que se debia de hacer; pero lo que se avia de executar, con solo el Marqués, ó á lo menos con pocos; y así se començó á vivir en esta Ciudad, con órden, quietud, y temor de Dios." — TORQUEMADA, *Monarquía Indiana*, lib. 5, cap. 10.

* "Fué el primero que introduxo que se mostrase Gramática Latina, á algunos Indios, en esta Nueva-España, para ver sus Ingenios. Para este fin se fundó el Colegio de Santa Cruz, en esta parte de Santiago Tlatelulco, donde escrivo esto, y donde huvo muchos Colegiales (como decimos en otra parte) y salieron con la Latinidad muchos de ellos mui por estremo, entre los quales se señaló Don Antonio Valeriano, que despues la enseñó en el mismo Colegio, y fué Governador de México quasi quarenta Años, excelentísimo Retórico, y gran Philósofo, y Maestro mio en la Lengua Mexicana, de el qual hacemos memoria en otro lugar."—TORQUEMADA, *Monarquía Indiana*, lib. 5, cap. 10.

B. XIV. Ch. 8.

in that part of the city called Tenuchitlan, and erected a market-place on the site.

The Bishop gave much attention to agriculture. He took care that the fruits of the mother country should be planted in all parts of New Spain. He introduced the cultivation of hemp and flax. He founded the town of Los Angeles, in order that it might be the centre of a corn-growing country, and at Tlascala he introduced the rearing and manufacture of cochineal.

Encourages agriculture.

His conduct towards the Indians was uniformly kind and considerate. He abolished the practice of making slaves. He established a book of tributes, in which were set down the dues which the Indians in *encomienda* had to pay to their *Encomenderos;* and he gave especial care to the religious education of the Indians.

Kind to the Indians: establishing a book of tributes.

His labours were not always peaceful. There was a rebellion in one of the provinces in his time, but it was rapidly and dexterously appeased.

Suppresses a rebellion.

The foregoing measures were very prudent, and the labours of the Bishop and his colleagues were constant and well directed. But, remembering the extraordinary powers with which this second *Audiencia* was endowed in reference to the matter of *encomiendas*, we naturally look for a conclusion to this mode of enforced service as the principal object which they would have in view. We look in vain. It is true that the Auditors themselves neither took possession of Indians, nor allotted them to their friends and relations. It is certain, also, that

Does not abolish *encomiendas.*

they made a beginning towards abolishing these *encomiendas* altogether. But their vigorous action about *encomiendas* seems to have quietly subsided in an almost unaccountable manner. There is a letter from the Bishop-President to the Empress, in which he speaks of the taking away of Indians from private persons, and giving them to the Emperor as "a thing guided by God;" but in the same letter he intimates, that it will be well to delay the final resolve that shall be adopted until more knowledge shall be attained."* Ultimately, I have no doubt that a compromise was adopted. Some men kept, some men recovered, their *encomiendas*. Half-measures prevailed, as they generally do. The truth is, that this remedy for the Indies, of taking away the *encomiendas* from the Spanish conquerors, required much to be done besides, in order that it might prove successful. It could not stand by itself as a single measure. Charles the Fifth, though a prince of very extensive possessions, began life very poor. His grandfather, Maximilian, "Sans Argent," was a by-word for poverty. Charles's handsome and luxurious

B. XIV Ch. 8.

Half-measures prevailed.

Poverty of Charles the Fifth.

* "Conviene seguir en los Corregimientos hasta que mas noticia se tenga. 'El haver quitado los indios, í havellos tomado para Vuestra Magestad fué cosa guiada por Dios . . . . los naturales han de ser los que han de poblar í asegurar la tierra conociendo . . . . quanto bien les es ser de Vuestra Magestad í no estar encomendados in subjetos á las tiranías y muertes que entre sí tenian.'

"Lo que haya de proveerse á perpetuidad en esta tierra será bien diferirlo, porque de cada dia se toma mas noticia, í se acertará mejor." — *Á la* Emperatriz, Episcopus Sancti Dominici; *México*, 3 *Noviembre*, 1532. *Coleccion de* Muñoz, MS., tom. 79.

B. XIV. Ch. 8.

father, "Philippe le Beau," complained, only a few weeks before his death, of his inability to pay the stipends of his household.* Ferdinand of Aragon left nothing in the way of treasure for his grandson; and was obliged to recommend his wife, Germaine, to the good offices of Charles for a suitable provision. The war of the *Comunidades* must have embarrassed and impoverished those towns in Spain in which the struggle had been maintained. Had Charles the Fifth commenced his reign with such a treasury as his rival Henry the Eighth possessed, he could have afforded to govern the Indies admirably. But this was not the case, and his career was one that continuously demanded a large expenditure for military purposes.†

Then, again, the various officers who were sent from Spain to the Indies, many of whom

* "At in Philippo nescio quid turbinis videor inspicere. Is conqueritur, quod ex tot Regnorum mole census non dentur, unde suis, quos ex Belgis advexit, persolvere stipendia queat."—PETER MARTYR, *Epist.* 312.

† See the excellent chapter on the taxes and finances under Charles the Fifth, in RANKE, *Fürsten und Völker von Süd-Europa, &c.*

"In extraordinary cases he was always forced to have recourse to extraordinary means. To enable him, in the year 1526, strenuously to resist the assaults of Francis I., who had broken the treaty of Madrid, he required the rich dowry of his Portuguese bride. Yet what a little way did this reach. His army was without pay in the year 1527, and marched off to take the pay the Emperor was not able to give it, from his enemy, the Pope. In the year 1529, Charles was only enabled to undertake his journey to Italy by surrendering to the Portuguese the Castillian pretensions to the Moluccas for a considerable sum. But it was not on every occasion he had a dowry to receive, or dubious claims on remote regions to dispose of. His wars, on the one hand, and his journeys, went on unceasingly. Nothing was left him but to have recourse to loans."—KELLY'S translation, p. 87.

were excellent men, and, doubtless, at starting, imbued with a stern resolve to abolish *encomiendas*, gradually succumbed to the pressure around them. Immersed in business, finding each day cumbered with the pressing affairs of that day, having recreant governors to punish, *residencias* to take, here and there an insurrection to quell, poor and grumbling conquerors to satisfy, it is no wonder that the main principle which some of these officers came out to establish was gradually floated down upon a lower and lower level, until it was lost in the quicksands of expediency. This is the common way of human affairs. A great cause devours the energy of many people; and, amidst the daily pressure of multitudinous affairs, there needs a good genius to stand by the side of men in power, and remind them in their few quiet moments of the noblest and best purposes of their lives.

Some reasons why the system of *encomiendas* was not abolished.

It was not that the Indians were thought less well of by these governing persons, when they came to see them closely. No one seems to have had a more respectful kindness for the native Indians than the Bishop-President. He speaks of them as men of much capacity and power of self-government, and notices that their halls of council are in some parts of the country as large as those in the Plaza of Valladolid, and more beautiful.*

The Bishop thought well of the capacity of the Indians.

* This occurs in a letter where the Bishop-President suggests that the Indians may be allowed to govern themselves a little in questions concerning the market-places. The whole passage in the despatch relating to this question is very interesting. I

B. XIV. Ch. 8.

The Franciscan brotherhood appear at this period as the warmest advocates of the Indians. In a joint letter which they addressed to the Emperor, or Empress, from the Convent of Huaxocingo (where they had held a chapter), they speak in the strongest manner of the capacity of the Indians. They appeal to the sumptuousness of their edifices; their exquisite workmanship in delicate fabrics; their skill as painters and as workers in the precious metals; their courtesy and powers of speech; their arts

subjoin it here.—"De la provision de alguacilazgos en indios vienen muchos provechos, como que sin eso ningun indio malechor se hubiera, í ningun daño. Por Regidores no se han puesto los dos que Vuestra Magestad manda porque no entienden la lengua, ni los entendemos, í porque no vean las burlerías que hai sobre elecciones í porque entre sí tienen mejor órden de elegir officiales no conviene que sepan la mala que entre Españoles hai. Aora no conviene se provean. Lo he dicho á los indios, porque sepan como Vuestra Magestad quiere que sean como nosotros, í tubiéronlo en mucho. Digéronme que porque en tiempo de Motizuma tenian Juezes de los mercados, í al presente los tienen uno en México, i otro en Santiago, á los que llaman Mixcatlaylutla, que se les concediese facultad de castigar, í los eligirian anualmente. Dixe que lo escriviria a Vuestra Magestad. Sábese que estos han usado siempre í usan de alguna jurisdiccion í no puede menos, í tienen su cárcel í se disimula, porque no entienden sino en cosas livianas, í bien saben que solo la justicia de Vuestra Magestad puede castigar. Al presente conviene con disimularlo con que tengan esta liviana coercion, porque sin ella no se sustentarian sus trianguez í mercados, los quales son muy grandes í concurre mucha gente, í son de mucha órden, porque en una parte está la loza, tinajas í cosas de barro, en la otra la leña, en otra las frutas que son muchas, en otra el trato de las mantas comunes que es grande, en otra la ropa mas rica, en otra los joyeros do tienen sartales joyeles rosarios piedras í todo lo demas. Tienen su órden como de hombres de mucha capacidad í gran governacion, í para proveer en las cosas públicas í que conciernen á todos tienen sus casas en algunas partes de ayuntamiento grandes í mas vistosas que no las que estan en la plaza de Valladolid."—*Á la* EMPERATRIZ; 15 Mayo, 1533. MUÑOZ, MS., tom. 79.

of government, their solemnities, their marriages, their heirships, their testamentary law. The good monks do not content themselves with noticing these outward manifestations of sagacity, but, with a delicate perception of character, they note the sadness of the Indians, manifested even to tears, "on those occasions when good breeding requires it." Finally, the Franciscans declare that the Indians are very fit for the discipline of an ethical, political, and economical life. The aptitude of the children for learning, and their singular skill and pleasure in music are dwelt upon by the fathers in the same despatch.*

The Franciscans speak well of the Indians.

It was no want of kindness, therefore, towards the Indians in the governing authorities of Mexico, that led to the abandonment of the great project of doing away with *encomiendas* altogether. The Bishop-President, his brother Auditors, the Bishop of Mexico, the Franciscan and Dominican Monks, and, lastly, Cortes himself, were all of them men who had a high opinion of the capacity of the Mexican Indians. Those of the governing body who were for abolishing *encomiendas* were supported in these views by some of the best statesmen, the most pious, and the most learned men in Spain. But the circumstances of the Conquest were too strong for them; and the unanimous resolve of the Junta of 1529, from which the philanthropist might

* There does not appear sufficient ground for the statement that the Franciscans were always opposed to the Dominicans on the question of the liberty of the Indians. At any rate, at this early period, we find both Orders protesting in favour of the Indians.

B. XIV. Ch. 8.

have hoped so much for the New World, was gradually put aside. Almost everything else that could be done for the conquered nation was done during the administration of the Bishop-President. It lasted only three years, when the Presidency was changed into a Viceroyalty, and Antonio de Mendoza (also an excellent governor)* was sent from Spain as Viceroy.† The Bishop-President was rewarded in Spain for his great services by a seat in the Council of the Indies.

The Bishop recalled: Mendoza arrives as Viceroy. 1535.

Meanwhile, no good impulse with respect to *encomiendas* came from the Court of Spain for many years after the year 1530, in which Charles the Fifth, giving his "*Fiat*" to the decision of the Great Junta so often referred to, had determined absolutely in favour of the liberty of the Indians. The Emperor was absent from Spain for two years and a half, remaining in Flanders, Germany, and Italy; and in 1533, the cause of the liberty of the Indians had retrograded so far at Court, that Charles authorized the granting of *encomiendas* in Peru.‡ It is possible that this determination was

Encomiendas granted in Peru, 1533.

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* "Con cuia llegada fueron las cosas de el Govierno, de bien, en mejor."—TORQUEMADA, *Monarquía Indiana*, lib. 5, cap. 11.

† See OVIEDO, lib. 55, c. 33, with respect to Mendoza's character.

‡ "Y por quanto vistas estas informaciones hemos acordado hacer repartimiento perpétuo; tomando antes para nuestra corona las cabezeras, provincias í pueblos que hallaredes convenir, haréis el memorial del repartimiento entre los conquistadores í pobladores segun la calidad de sus personas í servicios en visto del qual proveerémos. Pondréis en ese memorial. 1°. Qué tributo podrá dar a la corona cada encomendero haviendo respeto que pensamos darles las tierras con Señiorio í Jurisdiccion en cierta forma. 2°. Qué tierras í repartimientos convendrá reservar para los pobladores que adelante fueren destos Reinos. 3°. Qué forma deberá tenerse en las Provincias í cabeceras que quedaren en la corona así en justicia como

adopted in order to furnish some protection to the Indians from the rapacity of the Spaniards.*

On the appointment of Antonio de Mendoza as Viceroy of Mexico, the Emperor secretly gave him the power of dealing with the subject of *encomiendas*;† which shows that the question was still open, as regarded the inhabitants of New Spain. It was in 1535 that Charles the Fifth undertook his expedition to Tunis. Whether the fate of this expedition had any influence on

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en hacienda atendiendo al provecho nuestro í bien de los indios." — *El* EMPERADOR *á* GOVERNADOR *í* OFICIALES *de la Provincia del Perú. Coleccion de* MUÑOZ, MS., tom. 79.

* I subjoin a letter to the Emperor, in which the Licentiate Espinosa suggests *encomiendas* as a means of protection to the Peruvian Indians:—

"Los Yndios del Perú son los mejores í mas prontos para el servicio de los Españoles. 'Es una gente de Capacidad, é que tienen é viven en su Republica juntos . . . . acostumbrados á servir la gente comun á los Señores é gente de guerra, é tan subjetos é maltratados dellos . . . . Converná (convendrá) que se pongan en encomienda í repartimiento í se ordene bien antes que la estremada codicia de los Españoles lo dañen é pongan en confusion." — *Al* EMPERADOR; *el* LICENCIADO ESPINOSA, *Panamá*, 10 *Octubre*, 1533. *Coleccion de* MUÑOZ, MS., tom. 79.

† "Y por remate de la Instruccion, se le mandó en particular, que haviéndose informado de la disposicion, í estado de la Tierra, í de los Naturales, Pobladores de ella, teniendo su principal intento al servicio de Dios, í descargo de la Real conciencia, él solo en lo presente, í en lo que adelante se ofreciese, proveiese lo que mas le pareciese para el buen tratamiento de los Naturales, í gratificacion de los Pobladores, í Conquistadores, í conservacion de Tierra, sin embargo de qualesquier Instrucciones, ó Provisiones, que estuviesen dadas; porque siendo la cosa de tan gran importancia, el Rei se la cometia, por la confiança que tenia de su persona, í se la encomendaba á él solo, í le encargaba, que sin particular respeto usase de esta comision, en caso necesario, í no en otra manera, teniendo en sí el secreto, que la calidad del negocio requeria, pues de publicarlo avian de nacer maiores inconvenientes; í que si para los efectos susodichos viese que convenia encomendar Indios, que lo hiciese."—HERRERA, *Hist. de las Indias*, dec. 5, lib. 9, cap. 2.

B. XIV. Ch. 8.

that of the Indies, it might be difficult to say; but in the next year a most disastrous law was passed, which may perhaps be accounted for by want of money at home, perhaps by a want of the requisite attention to colonial affairs. Whatever may have been the cause, the fact is that, in 1536, the celebrated Law of Succession, which gave *encomiendas* for a second life, was promulgated at Madrid. This was a general law for the Indies. It appears to have been occasioned by the conquest of Peru.*

The Law of Succession, in 1536.

History of Guatemala will lead to the New Laws.

The history of Guatemala will naturally lead up to, and illustrate, the nature of the opposition which was ultimately made to this law by Las Casas and other Protectors of the Indians, whose efforts were closed by the promulgation of the celebrated New Laws, as they were called, which were published in 1542. These New Laws, again, and the transactions which flowed directly from them, were the subject of another period of history, in which Peru† was the battle-field. And

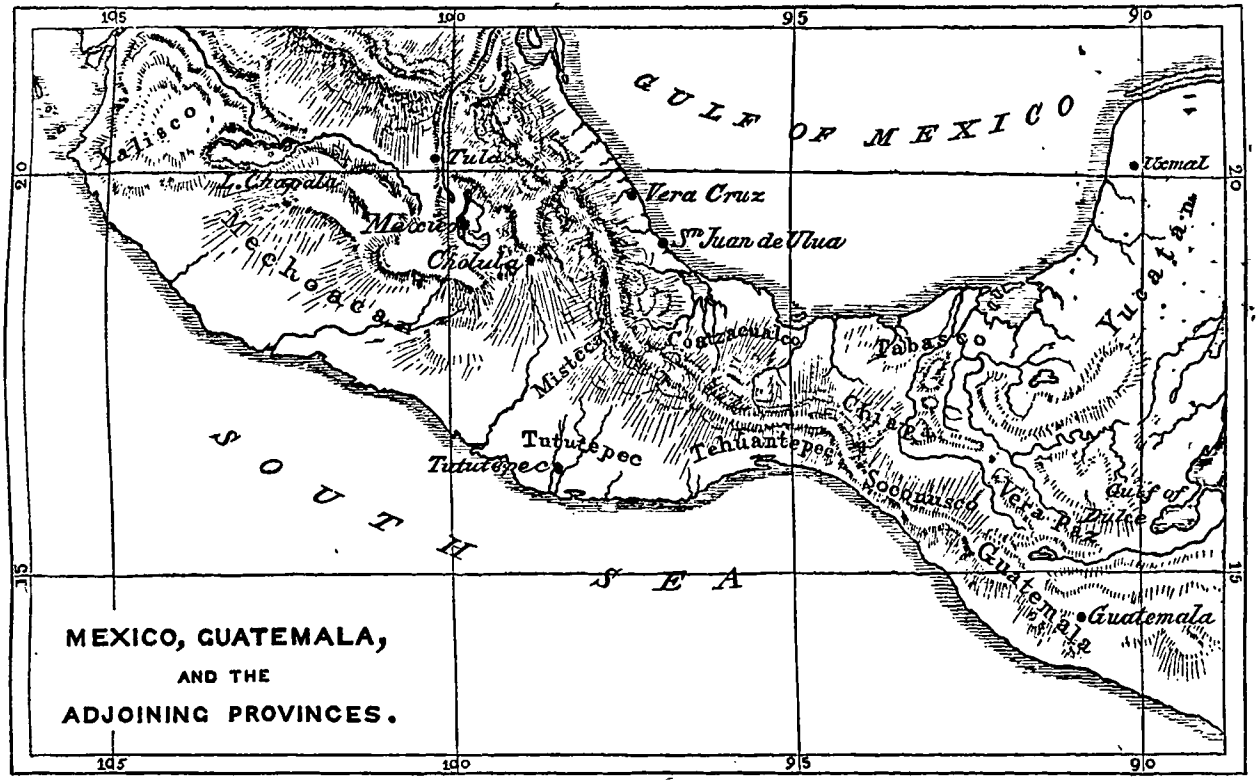
* "La qual (*i.e.*, the permission given to Cortes and Montejo to give Indians in *encomienda*) duró, hasta que descubierto el Perú, aviéndose dado órden á don Francisco Pizarro, para repartir la tierra, se añadió la succession de las Encomiendas en segunda vida, promulgándose aquella tan celebrada ley (Provis. de Madrid á 26 de Mayo, de 1536, tom. 2, pág. 201), que por esto llamaron de la sucession, universal para todas las Indias; que añadiendo una vida mas de lo que hasta entonces tenian á las Encomiendas, fué visto aprovarlas expressamente: con que se ha declarado el orígen, que tuvieron los Repartimientos í Encomiendas, desde que se començaron á introduzir, hasta que llegaron á ser por dos vidas." —ANTONIO DE LEON, *Tratado de Confirmaciones Reales*, parte 1, cap. 1, p. 5.

† In the preceding narrative I have occasionally anticipated the course of events, and have been obliged to allude to facts as known which will only be fully described, and put in their proper

thus, though not always perceived by historians, the main course of public events in the Indies sometimes depended upon, and was often curiously interwoven with, the legislation in Spain relating to the distribution and possession of the native Indians, as involved in the granting of *encomiendas*.

History of Peru will greatly depend on the New Laws.

places, when the history of the introduction of the Church in the Indies is given, or that of Peru is described in detail. The narrative, however, of *encomiendas* is so important, that I felt it to be necessary to give it continuously, and in one place, however much it might overlap or break into other parts of the history.



MEXICO, GUATEMALA,
AND THE
ADJOINING PROVINCES.

BOOK XV.

GUATEMALA.

CHAPTER I.

IMPORTANCE OF THE HISTORY OF GUATEMALA—EMBASSIES TO CORTES AFTER THE SIEGE OF MEXICO—HIS DISCOVERY OF THE SEA OF THE SOUTH—ORIGIN OF THE KINGDOM OF GUATEMALA—LAWS AND CUSTOMS OF THAT COUNTRY—EXPEDITION AGAINST GUATEMALA PREPARED.

CHAPTER II.

CONQUEST OF GUATEMALA BY PEDRO DE ALVARADO—FOUNDING OF THE TOWN OF GUATEMALA.

CHAPTER III.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DOMINICAN AND FRANCISCAN ORDERS IN NEW SPAIN — LIFE OF DOMINGO DE BETANZOS — LETTERS OF THE FIRST BISHOPS.

CHAPTER IV.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TOWN OF SANTIAGO IN GUATEMALA—DOMINGO DE BETANZOS COMES TO SANTIAGO AND FOUNDS A DOMINICAN CONVENT THERE—IS OBLIGED TO RETURN TO MEXICO.

CHAPTER V.

REAPPEARANCE OF LAS CASAS — HIS MISSION TO PERU — HIS STAY IN NICARAGUA — DISPUTES WITH THE GOVERNOR — COMES TO GUATEMALA AND OCCUPIES THE CONVENT THAT HAD BEEN FOUNDED BY DOMINGO DE BETANZOS — ALVARADO'S EXPEDITION TO PERU — LAS CASAS AND HIS BRETHREN STUDY THE UTLATECAN LANGUAGE.

CHAPTER VI.

LAS CASAS AND HIS MONKS OFFER TO CONQUER "THE LAND OF WAR" — THEY MAKE THEIR PREPARATIONS FOR THE ENTERPRIZE.

CHAPTER VII.

LAS CASAS SUCCEEDS IN SUBDUING AND CONVERTING BY PEACEABLE MEANS "THE LAND OF WAR" — HE IS SENT TO SPAIN AND DETAINED THERE.

CHAPTER VIII.

DISCOVERY TO THE NORTH OF MEXICO — DEATH OF ALVARADO — EARTHQUAKE AT GUATEMALA — GUATEMALA GOVERNED BY AN AUDIENCIA.

CHAPTER IX.

TRIUMPH OF THE DOMINICANS IN GUATEMALA—"THE LAND OF WAR" IS CALLED "THE LAND OF PEACE"—THE FINAL LABOURS AND DEATH OF DOMINGO DE BETANZOS.

CHAPTER I.

IMPORTANCE OF THE HISTORY OF GUATEMALA—EMBASSIES TO CORTES AFTER THE SIEGE OF MEXICO—HIS DISCOVERY OF THE SEA OF THE SOUTH—ORIGIN OF THE KINGDOM OF GUATEMALA—LAWS AND CUSTOMS OF THAT COUNTRY—EXPEDITION AGAINST GUATEMALA PREPARED.

IT must often have been felt that the narrative of the Spanish Conquest, whether told in strict order of time, or made to conform itself to place, was inconveniently scattered; and that it is occasionally difficult to maintain a clear view of the main drift and current of the story. Now, however, as in the closing act of a well-constructed drama, the principal events make themselves felt; the principal personages reappear together on the scene; and the threads of many persons' fortunes are found to lead up to some unity in time and place. This felicitous conjunction does not often happen in real life; but, at the particular point of the narrative which we have now to consider, something of the kind undoubtedly did occur. In the decade of years that followed after the conquest of Mexico, the spot where some of the most important conquests were completed and the greatest expeditions prepared, where the strangest experiments were made for the conversion of the natives, where the

B. XV. Ch. I.

discovery took place of the most remarkable monuments of American civilization, and the theatre wherein was acted that series of events which led to the greatest changes in Spanish legislation for the Indies, was the province of Guatemala. The wars in this province, though very considerable, were not of the first magnitude or interest; and as, in the early periods of historical writing, wars are the main staple of history, the other events in this part of the world, not being illustrated by great wars, have escaped due notice. Hence the majority even of studious men are probably not aware of the important circumstances in the history of America with which this narrow strip of territory, called Guatemala, is connected.

Why the events in Guatemala have not received due attention.

Without further prelude, I propose to narrate in detail the events which led to the discovery, the conquest, and the pacification of Guatemala.

Cortes was a man of insatiable activity. It might have been thought that, after the conquest of Mexico, the rebuilding and re-peopling of the city would have sufficiently exhausted the energies even of that active man. But it was not so. He is chiefly known to the world by that conquest of Mexico, which, for its audacity, stands unrivalled in the annals of mankind; but he was subsequently employed in further conquests, which cost him far more labour and suffering, but have hardly added at all to his renown, so little time and thought can men spare for a thorough investigation of the lives and deeds of even their most remarkable fellow-men.

Almost in the next page of his third letter to the Emperor, after that in which he describes the siege and capture of Mexico, Cortes begins to inform His Majesty what steps he has taken for the discovery of that which he calls "the other Sea of the South."

News of the fall of Mexico.

After the last discharge of the cannon of Cortes had been made upon the helpless but unyielding crowd of Mexico, the news of the city's fall was not slow in reaching the adjacent territories.

How it sped.

Along the glad shores of the lakes, up the vast rocky basin in which those glistening waters and the gemlike cities were set, through the defiles of the mountains, down the rivers, across the great plateau, from the eastern to the western sea, southwards to powerful Utatlan, and northwards to virgin California, sped the news.

The citizens of well-ordered states communed together upon the fate of the greatest of cities known to them. The travelling merchant told the tale, not unembellished, to his wondering auditors. The wandering huntsman, sitting at night by his watch-fire, held entranced the keen, bright eyes of other wanderers from scattered and distant tribes, while he related to them new and unimagined feats of arms performed by bearded men and animals unknown in their prairies. All central America must soon have been aware that their "Babylon the Great had fallen."

And how did the listeners receive the astonishing news? With joy, regret, and apprehension: joy, that a ruthless enemy, to whose fell

B. V. Ch. I.

gods their young men and their maidens had been sacrificed, was now no more; regret, that they, the injured, had had no part in the misfortunes of the detested city; and apprehension, lest a worse thing should come upon them than even the power of the hateful Aztecs. A dead enemy is soon forgotten. The most gigantic fear leaves but little trace behind. A huge idol, once cast down from its pedestal, or a fallen minister of tyranny dragged ignominiously through the streets, is reviled, cursed, stamped upon to-day, and buried in oblivion to-morrow. Past terrors live again only in men's dreams. All that the neighbouring nations had suffered from the hideous Aztec gods would be forgotten in the new terror, which, like Aaron's rod, had devoured the puny enchantments of false magicians.

How the news was received in the neighbouring states.

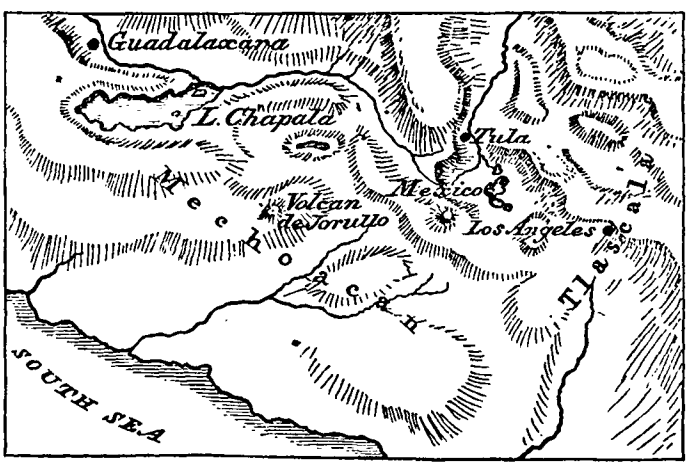
The fall of Mexico must have produced an impression on the chiefs of the neighbouring states far greater than that which would have been felt throughout Germany at the defeat of an emperor by a foreign enemy; or throughout France, in the early days of French sovereignty over many provinces, at a similar defeat of their lord paramount, the French monarch; or throughout Christendom, at the capture by the Moslem of imperial Constantinople.

The conquest of the New World: its first aspect to the conquered.

Indeed, the defeat of the dwellers in the New World by those from the Old was not, in its first aspect, like the defeat of men by men; but it seemed as if that ancient giant race, the children of women by the sons of gods, not immersed by any deluge, but for ages safely

dwelling amidst the mountains of the Caucasus, and hitherto lapped in a sublime indifference to human concerns, had now, obeying some wild, mysterious impulse, burst out upon the miserable descendants of mere men and women. These new beings might be tutelar divinities, might be destroying angels; but there was no doubt that they came forth, clothed in what seemed celestial panoply, "conquering and to conquer."

The Indian kings who were opposed to the Mexican dynasty, no less than those who were allied to it, shuddered at the success of these awful invaders from another sphere. The first potentate who sent ambassadors to Cortes was the King of



Mechoacan, a province about seventy leagues to the south-west of Mexico. From these ambassadors, Cortes, who had already heard something about this "Sea of the South," made further inquiries. He found that it was to be reached through Mechoacan; and, accordingly, after causing his cavalry to

Ambassadors from Mechoacan.

B. XV. Ch. I.

manœuvre before these Mechoacan ambassadors, so as to impress them with a fitting sense of his power, and after making them some presents, he sent two Spaniards back with them on a journey of discovery. Hearing still more about this sea from other quarters, he sent in different directions two other parties of Spaniards to explore the way to the sea, and to take "possession" of it. He seems to have been fully aware of the importance of this discovery, for he says,—"I was very proud, for it appeared to me that, in discovering it, His Majesty would receive a great and signal service; since," he adds, "it was the decided opinion of all men who had any knowledge or experience in the navigation of the Indies, that when this sea was discovered, many islands would be found in it, abounding in gold, pearls, precious stones, and spices."* Cortes thought, moreover, that many "secrets and wonderful things" were yet to be discovered there. From this faith in what was marvellous the first explorers and conquerors derived an ardour in pursuit, and an untiring love of novelty, which reminds one of the same qualities as they exist in the untravelled souls of little children.

Cortes sends to discover the Sea of the South.

Discovery of the Sea of the South. 1522.

As the sea was at no great distance, it was soon discovered, by one or other of the parties sent out to explore; and formal possession was

* "Estaba muy ufano, porque me parecia, que en la descubrir se hacia á Vuestra Magestad muy grande, y señalado servicio: especialmente, que todos los que tienen alguna ciencia, y experiencia en la Navegacion de las Indias, han tenido por muy cierto, que descubriendo por estas Partes la Mar del Sur, se habian de hallar muchas Islas ricas de Oro, y Perlas, y Piedras preciosas, y Especeria."—LORENZANA, p. 302.

taken of it in the name of the Emperor, some time in the year 1522, nine years after the discovery of the same sea by Vasco Nuñez, about a thousand miles lower down.

Embassage from Tehuantepec.

Following the embassage from Mechoacan, there arrived at the camp of Cortes another set of envoys, from a people about a hundred leagues further south than Mechoacan, inhabiting a maritime country called Tehuantepec, which it appears was the territory where one of these parties of discovering Spaniards had come upon the Sea of the South. These Indians, as was usually the case, were at war with their next neighbours, the inhabitants of a country called Tututepec. Immediately south of Tehuantepec lies the province of Soconusco, and south of that is Guatemala. Following the usual rule, these two last-named provinces were also at feud with one another. The great political doctrine of the balance of power was but beginning to be understood in Europe in those days, and was totally beyond the compass of Indian statesmanship. Accordingly, a similar series of events to those which had enabled Cortes to reach and to conquer Mexico was now to conduct his lieutenants into the southern provinces of Central America. These two provinces of Tututepec and Tehuantepec, which, from the similarity of their names, we may fairly conjecture to have been inhabited by tribes of the same race, were the first to give occasion to the stranger to enter armed into their territories; for Cortes, at the request of the envoys from Tehuantepec, despatched Pedro de Alvarado with a body of

B. XV. Ch. I.

troops to conquer the unfriendly province of Tututepec. This province, however, does not seem to have received the lieutenant of Cortes with extreme hostility, or, at least, to have made any effectual resistance. After a few skirmishes, Pedro de Alvarado made his way into the town of Tututepec, where he was well received, and was furnished with provisions and presented with gold. The hostile Indians, however, of the next province, Tehuantepec, suggested that all this friendly demonstration was but feigned, and that an offer which the Cacique had made to the Spaniards, to lodge them in his own palace, was but a scheme to destroy them by setting their quarters on fire. Pedro de Alvarado believed this accusation, or affected to believe it, and seized upon the person of the Cacique, who, after giving much money to his captor, died in prison. That this seizure of the Cacique was thought unjust even by the Spaniards of that time is proved by the testimony of Bernal Diaz.* There is no novelty in this proceeding of Alvarado. Indeed, the dealings of the Spaniards with the Indians seem, at this period of the Conquest, to be arranged according to a certain routine, in which the capture of the principal chief is seldom omitted; and it is worth while to notice the imprisonment of the Cacique of Tututepec merely because it is the first of a series

Cortes sends Alvarado to Tututepec.

Alvarado's treatment of the Cacique of Tututepec.

* "Otros Españoles de fé, y de creer, dixeron que por sacalle mucho oro, é sin justicia, murió en las prisiones: aora sea lo uno, ó lo o, otr aquel Cacique dió á Pedro de Alvarado mas de triente mil pesos, y murió de enojo, y de la prision."—Bernal Diaz, cap. 161.

of such proceedings on the part of Alvarado, who was the principal conqueror of Central America. His qualifications for command, as far as they appear in the page of history, were not of the highest order. He was brave, daring, restless, crafty, devout, but without any true policy. He was a great talker; but still, I should imagine, a man of considerable force, if not skill, in action, as he was largely trusted by Cortes.

Alvarado's character.

Alvarado's personal appearance was much in his favour. It is thus described by Bernal Diaz. "He had a fine and well-proportioned figure. His face and countenance were very lively, with a very amiable expression; and, from being so handsome, the Mexican Indians gave him the name of Tonatiuh, which means 'the Sun.' He was very agile, and a good horseman, and above all, a frank being, and a pleasant companion. In his dress he was very elegant, and wore rich stuffs."* Alvarado was nearly the same age as Cortes, for Bernal Diaz says that he was about thirty-four years old when he came to New Spain. In his daring qualities and brilliant appearance he may be compared to Murat; and his relation to Cortes may not inaptly be compared with that of the King of Naples to the first Napoleon.

Alvarado's personal appearance.

Alvarado founded a town in Tututepec, which he called Segura; but, on account of the heat of the climate and the swarms of insects, it was soon deserted. This expedition of Alvarado's took place in the year 1522.

* Bernal Diaz, cap. 206.

B. XV. Ch. I.

Interview between the Spanish messengers and the Chief of Guatemala.

From the seat of his new conquest Pedro de Alvarado despatched two messengers to Guatemala (called by the Indians Quauhtemallán, the place of wood, or of decayed wood), who were to offer on the part of Cortes "his friendship and his religion" to the Chief of that province.

The Chief asked these messengers whether they came from Malinché, whether they had made their journey by sea or by land, and whether they would speak the truth in all that they should say. They of course replied that they always did speak the truth; that they had come by land; that they were sent by Cortes, the invincible Captain of the Emperor of the World, a mortal man, and not a god, but who came to show the Indians the way to immortality.*

The Chief then asked, whether their Captain brought with him those great sea-monsters which had passed by that coast the previous year.† The messengers replied, "Yes, and even greater ones;" and one of them, who was a ship's carpenter, made a drawing of a *carack* with six masts, at which the Indians marvelled greatly. The Chief

* "Embió á Quauhtemallán dos Españoles, que hablasen con el Señor, í le ofreciesen su amistad, í Religion: el qual preguntó, *si eran de Malinxe* (que así llamaban á Cortés), *Dios caído del Cielo, de quien iá tenia noticia: si venian por Mar, ó por Tierra, í si dirian verdad en todo lo que hablasen?* Ellos respondieron, *que siempre hablaban verdad, í que iban á pié por Tierra, í que eran de Cortés, Capitan invencible del Emperador del Mundo, Hombre mortal, í no Dios; pero que venia á mostrar el camino de la inmortalidad.*"—GOMARA, *Hist. de las Indias*, cap. 207. BARCIA, *Historiadores*, tom. 2.

† The ships in question were those in the expedition of Gil Gonçalez Davila, who discovered Nicaragua.—See p. 70 of this volume; and GOMARA, *de el descubrimiento de Nicaragua*, chap. 199; *Hist. de las Indias*. BARCIA, *Historiadores*, t. 2.

then asked them if the Spaniards were not very valiant, and stronger than other men. They replied that, with the aid of God, whose sacred law they were publishing in those parts, and by means of certain animals on which they rode, they were accustomed to conquer. Then, to assist the imaginations of the Guatemalans, they painted a great horse, with a man in armour upon it. The Guatemalan Chief declared that he should like to be the friend of such men, and would give them fifty thousand warriors, in order that his men and theirs united might conquer some troublesome neighbours, who devastated his country. These neighbours were the Soconuscans. This kind of alliance with the Spaniards was the first thought always of the too-confiding Indians, and unluckily they had no Pilpay or Æsop to tell them the fable of the foolish horse who called in the assistance of man to conquer his enemy the stag, and who did conquer him, but who has been much vexed and beridden by his associate ever since.

Interview between the Spanish messengers and the Chief of Guatemala.

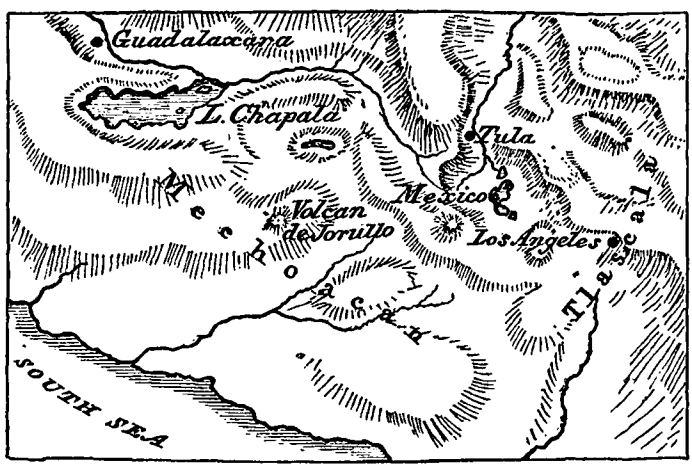
After this interview, the Spanish messengers were dismissed with magnificent presents of gold, jewels, and provisions, which, it is said, required no fewer than five thousand men to carry them. Such was the first notice which the Spaniards received of Guatemala.

The origin of the kingdom of Guatemala is very obscure. To describe it properly would take the labour of a life employed in mastering languages long discontinued, and deciphering symbolic writings that will not render up their meaning to any but the most devoted inquirers.

B. XV. Ch. I.

Origin of the kingdom of Guatemala.

It will, nevertheless, be desirable to attempt to give some account of the early history of Guatemala, not claiming from the reader any strict credence for the accuracy of a narrative necessarily so dubious, and merely stating what was believed to be true. For it will ever be an important function of history to describe, not the facts only, but the supposed facts which men invented to account for their being where they were and what they were.



The kingdom of Guatemala, then, was governed by a dominant race called the Tultecas. These Tultecas had come from Mexico. Their abode in that country had been Tula, twelve leagues from the city of Mexico. The derivation of their name is said to be from "Tulteca," the art of stone-work. The account of their migration from Tula to Guatemala is not unlike that of the exodus of the Israelites from amongst the Egyptians. Having been oppressed by certain kings for

five hundred years, they held a great festival in which they were warned by the Devil (any supernatural being in Indian story is said to be the Devil by Spanish narrators) to quit the country of Mexico. In other words, the Aztecs, or some other conquering race, were too strong for the Tultecas. The story of the apparition of this demon is highly picturesque, and somewhat awful. It is said that while the nation were celebrating certain religious rites, there appeared a great giant amongst them, who began to mingle in their sacred dances, and that his embrace in the dance was death.*

On another day the same awful being assumed another form, and was seen upon a lofty hill, seated on a rock. He seemed as a beautiful youth of very fair complexion, but his head was putrid, and from it there proceeded pestilence. In vain they sought to cast the deadly creature into an adjoining lake; and, while they were attempting this feat, their Demon appeared to them, and declared that they would have nothing but ruin and calamity to encounter until they should quit the land of Tula.

Exodus of the Tultecas.

The flight to other countries was resolved upon. The king who led the Tultecas forth was Nimaquiché.† He was accompanied by three brothers, and these four men became the heads of

* "El qual, á las bueltas, que con ellos iba dando, se iba abraçando, con ellos, y á quantos cogia entre los braços (como otro Hércules, á Anteon) les quitaba la vida, embiándolos de ellos, seguramente, á los de la muerte." —TORQUEMADA, *Monarquía Indiana*, lib. I, cap. 14.

† "Great Quiché;" for *nima* in the Quiché language, means "great."

B. XV. Ch. I.

four ruling families in four independent provinces: one brother, of the province of the Quelenes and Chapanecos; another of Tuzulutlan; a third of the Mam Indians and the Pocomanes; and Nimaquiché himself, in the person of his son, of the Quichés, Kachiquels, and Zutugils. In the course of their pilgrimage southwards, the Tultecas suffered great hardships and passed many years.

The King Nimaquiché died in this journey—another resemblance to the Mosaic story,—and was succeeded by his son Acxopil, who was the prince that finally conducted that branch of the Tultecas called Quichés into the neighbourhood of Lake Atitlan. Their great town, founded near this lake, was called Utatlan (pronounced, I

observe, by the Spaniards, Uclatan), and was situated where the present village of Santa Cruz de Quiché stands. A further division of the Tultecan states took place in the old age of Nimaquiché's son, Acxopil. The old king retained the kingdom of Quiché for himself; to his eldest, Jiutemal,* he gave that of Kachiquel; and the third kingdom of Zutugil he gave to his second

Division of the Tultecan states.

GUATEMALA AND TUZULUTLAN.

son Axciquat. On the day of this division, three suns were said to have been visible in the heavens.

Utatlan, the capital of Quiché, was the town of greatest note in those parts. A long line of kings, who may or may not be as fabulous as

* Juarros thinks that the name of this prince gave the name to the country of Guatemala.

B. XV. Ch. I.

those of Scotland before Kenneth Macalpin, are enumerated as having reigned at Utatlan; and it is to be noticed that Jiutemal, to whom in the first instance had been assigned the kingdom of Kachiquel, reigned afterwards over the kingdom of Quiché, at Utatlan. There is much that is interesting in the records of these monarchs, but it would be in vain, for my purpose, to give it, for, being entirely disconnected with the ordinary course of this history, it will not find any other facts in the reader's mind to attach itself to. There are the usual wars, devastations, abductions of princesses, and jealousies of neighbouring monarchs. One king is mentioned for his discoveries in the arts of peace, having taught his subjects to make use of cocoa and of cotton; another for his valour in war and skill in government; but nothing more need be said about them until the reign of Tecum-Umam, who was on the Quiché throne, and reigned at Utatlan, when Pedro de Alvarado advanced into the country.

Pre-Spanish history of America very uncertain ground-work.

The historian would gladly avoid all allusion to the obscure and dubious traditions upon which the pre-Spanish history of New Spain and Central America is founded. At any rate, he would endeavour (according to the admirable metaphor of Peter Martyr, before alluded to, when discussing doubtful questions in astronomical science), to pass over such uncertain groundwork with a dry foot,* delicately. But there is this peculiarity in the history of the New World, that the

* "De poli etiam varietate quædam refert, quæ . . . sicco pertingam pede."—P. Martyr, *De Orbe Novo*, dec. 1, cap. 6.

traditional and the historic periods are separated by no interval. In other histories, the narrative gradually descends from myth to fable, from fable to legend or to song, and thence, by fine degrees, to the comparative certitude of recorded history.

But in the annals of American history, the writer, being otherwise deprived of any starting-place for his story, is obliged occasionally to throw a flying-bridge over the shaking morasses of fable, tradition, and pictured record, which he cannot altogether neglect, and cannot securely abide upon.*

Were further excuse wanted for dwelling but slightly upon the interesting but uncertain traditions of the aboriginal races of America, it would be found in the fact that the steady and

* How the shrewdest thinkers may err, when they endeavour to construct theories with too small a knowledge of the facts, may be seen in the reasons that BACON gives for considering the inhabitants of the West Indies a younger people than the inhabitants of the Old World.

"If you consider well of the people of the West Indies, it is very probable that they are a newer or a younger people than the people of the Old World, and it is much more likely that the destruction that hath heretofore been there, was not by earthquakes (as the Ægyptian priest told Solon, concerning the island of Atlantis, that it was swallowed by an earthquake), but rather that it was desolated by a particular deluge: for earthquakes are seldom in those parts; but on the other side, they have such pouring rivers as the rivers of Asia, and Africa, and Europe are but brooks to them. Their Andes, likewise, or mountains, are far higher than those with us; whereby it seems, that the remnants of generations of men were in such a particular deluge saved. As for the observation that Machiavel hath, that the jealousy of sects doth much extinguish the memory of things —traducing Gregory the Great, that he did what in him lay to extinguish all heathen antiquities,—I do not find that those zeals do any great effects, nor last long; as it appeared in the succession of Sabinian, who did revive the former antiquities."—BACON'S *Essays: Of Vicissitudes of Things.*

We now know that earthquakes are very common in the New World; and that the jealousy of sects did much to extinguish the memory of things there.

B. XII. Ch. I.

forward movement of history cannot be accommodated to the slow pace and fond lingering among details, which characterize all antiquarian research into the ruins of the past.*

It must not be supposed, however, that the narrative of the Tultecan migration from Mexico, and their occupation of Guatemala, is wholly fabulous, and that there is no historic truth to be made out of it. It will account for a circumstance which otherwise would be very strange,—namely, that, though there were as many as twenty-four or twenty-six languages in Central America, yet, throughout a considerable part of it, communication was evidently possible, as we shall hereafter perceive, by means of one language. Then, again, the mode of settling the succession to the sovereignties coincides with the Tultecan story.

Principle of succession to the throne.

One principle in this succession uniformly prevailed: it was that a man of experience, and not a youth, should ascend the throne. Jiutemal,

* A painful and laborious existence might be passed in unravelling the true course of events which led to this exodus of Nimaquiché. For this purpose, painted and sculptured records would have to be interpreted; which records were written without the fear of contemporary criticism, and are unchecked by the histories of other nations. This last circumstance alone must be a fertile source of error. We may imagine what the history of any European nation would be, if it were not kept in some order by the annals of surrounding nations.

Again, the prejudices of those who succeeded the Indian races in the lands which they inhabited, are another source of error. A Mexican Spaniard, for example, is inclined to maintain the prowess of Autzol, the immediate predecessor of Montezuma, and would make him conqueror of much of Central America. A Guatemalan Spaniard, on the other hand, eager for the honour of the very monarchs his ancestors dispossessed, will vigorously repel all assertions tending to show that his had ever been a conquered country, even in the times of its paganism.

having first ruled over the inferior kingdom of Kachiquel, succeeded to the throne of Utatlan, as before mentioned. Now, Utatlan was the first kingdom in rank, which dignity was signified by four canopies being over the throne. The King of Kachiquel sat under three canopies; the King of Zutugil under two. The same principle prevailed when these kingdoms began to be more separated from one another, and was ultimately developed at Utatlan in a manner that will remind the learned reader of the practice of having a Cæsar and an Augustus at an early period of the Roman Empire. There were four persons designated to the royal authority. The first was the reigning monarch; the second was the reigning monarch's brother, who was called "the elected one;" the third was the reigning monarch's eldest son, who was called by a title which the Spaniards rendered "the Chief Captain" (*el Capitan mayor*); the fourth was the reigning monarch's eldest nephew, who was called "the Second Captain" (*el Capitan minor*). When the monarch died, "the elected one" succeeded to the throne, as the King of the Romans succeeded the Emperor in Germany. The Chief Captain succeeded to his place; the Second Captain to that of the Chief Captain; and then the eldest and nearest member of the royal family took the lowest place. Thus the object was always secured of having at the head of the Government a man of experience, and of some knowledge of public affairs.*

* See TORQUEMADA, *Monarquía Indiana*, lib. II, cap. 18. The same mode of succession, according to HERRERA,

B. XV. Ch. 7.

The same principle, varied in its application, is to be seen in what we know of the government of Tuzulutlan, except that, on some occasions, where a near relative to the throne was not to be found to fill the lowest office, the people had the privilege of election; and we learn that elections at Tuzulutlan were sometimes decided by bribery or by interest, and not by merit, "just as is the case with some of our Alcaldes," admits the truth-telling Spaniard* from whom we have this detail; "so that when they receive the wand of office," he adds, "they have often paid for it more than it is worth." The principle, however, of not appointing a youth to power, was so strong in this province of Tuzulutlan, that afterwards, when the Spaniards came to have authority in that province, and wished to place a young man on the throne, he refused, on account of his want of experience, being desirous of following the ways of his ancestors. "Let each one put his hand on his heart," exclaims the monk who records these transactions, "and see whether, like Moses, he withdraws it with the sign of leprosy or without, supposing the case that a great estate or lordship were to be offered to him, however young he might be."† The relationship, therefore, which is asserted in the Tultecan re-

Self-denial of a young prince in Tuzulutlan.

prevailed amongst the Mexicans as in the kingdom of Utatlan.—*Hist. de las Indias*, dec. 3, lib. 4, cap. 18. See also TORQUEMADA, *Monarquía Indiana*, lib. 2, cap. 18.

* TORQUEMADA.

† "Meta cada qual la mano en su pecho, y vea si podria sacarla, con señal de lepra, como Moisen, ó no, ofreciéndosele un Maiorazgo, ó Señorío, aunque mas moço sea."—TORQUEMADA, *Monarquía Indiana*, lib. 11, cap. 19.

cords to have existed between Guatemala and Tuzulutlan seems, in some measure, to be substantiated by what we know of their respective forms of government. B. XV. Ch. I.

There is one thing unaccounted for as yet in this story, but which the events of the Spanish Conquest may hereafter give a clue to; and that is the prevalence of the name of Guatemala. Quiché was the principal kingdom; Quiché was the name of the language, and of the great king who headed the exodus of the Tultecans. It is likely that the scene already described, when the Spanish messengers depicted horsemen and a carack, took place, not at Guatemala, but at Utatlan. The name, however, of Guatemala prevailed, and now extends over a territory comprehending the lands of many of its former friends and of its former enemies.

From sources that we can rely upon, we learn what were the manners, laws, customs, and resources of what was called the kingdom of Guatemala.

The resources were abundant: it was a land with a fine climate and a most fertile soil, bearing maize, cotton, and very fine balsam, with irrigated plains, which were wont to give a return of three hundred measures for one measure of seed.* It was found, too, that it would bear wheat, and all the fruits of Spain. It also produced cocoa,† which was used then, and for some time, continued to be used as money.‡ Resources of Guatemala.

* Alonzo Fernandez, *Hist. Ecclesiástica de Nuestros Tiempos*, cap. 37. Toledo, 1611.

† The finest cocoa in the world is grown in Soconusco.

‡ This cocoa money was cur-

B. XV. Ch. I.

From the possession of money we may at once conclude that these people were to a certain extent civilized, though this did not prevent them from adoring idols, and occasionally eating human flesh. They had fairs, which were generally held in close proximity to the temples, and over which a judge presided, regulating the prices. Among their artizans were goldsmiths, painters, and workers in feathers. The plumage of birds formed one of the principal materials for ornament used by the most skilful nations in the Indies.

Money.

Fairs.

Artizans.

Laws.

The laws of Guatemala appear to have been framed with considerable care. In some things they are very reasonable, in others not so. It appears that though the Government of the Guatemalans was a monarchy, they had a recognised power, if the king behaved very tyrannically, of calling together the principal men and the judges of the kingdom, and deposing him. Their laws with regard to theft were curious, and in some respects commendable. They made much distinction between small and great thefts; and they graduated their punishments with care, beginning from a pecuniary fine, and continuing, if the culprit showed himself to be a resolute offender, up to execution by hanging. Before, however, taking the final step, they proceeded to the thief's relations, and asked them

Laws in Guatemala with regard to theft.

rent not only amongst the Indians, but amongst the Spaniards. BERNAL DIAZ, returning to Mexico from the Honduras expedition, in the destitute state in which the Spaniards often did return from such expeditions, says of his friend Sandoval, "He sent me linen to clothe myself with, and gold and cocoa to spend." — BERNAL DIAZ, cap. 193.

whether they would pay all the penalties for him, which, no doubt, in this latter stage, were very considerable. If they would not do so, if—according to their expressive phrase—they had had enough of carrying their relative upon their shoulders, and would make no more satisfaction for him, the man was hanged.* This may be thought a clumsy mode of proceeding, but any gradations in punishment, and any thought for the offender, are proofs of nascent civilization. Barbarism is always clear, uncompromising, cruel; and has not the time or the desire to enter into nice distinctions and limitations.

Treatment of captives.

In war, the main body of their captives, the common people, were made slaves, but the principal chiefs were killed and eaten, with a view of inspiring terror into the enemy. This practice, though horrible enough, is very different from a system of human sacrifices, like that in force amongst the Mexicans.

Education.

In matters of education, the Guatemalans showed themselves a civilized people; and, not being afflicted by much diversity of opinion upon small matters connected with religious questions, they had schools in all their chief towns, both for boys and girls.

The Guatemalans, if subject at all to the Mexicans, had only recently become so—that is, within the last twenty years of the Mexican empire. Their country, far different from what it is now, was exceedingly populous. The languages

* Torquemada, *Monarquía Indiana*, lib. 12, cap. 8.

B. XV. Ch. I.

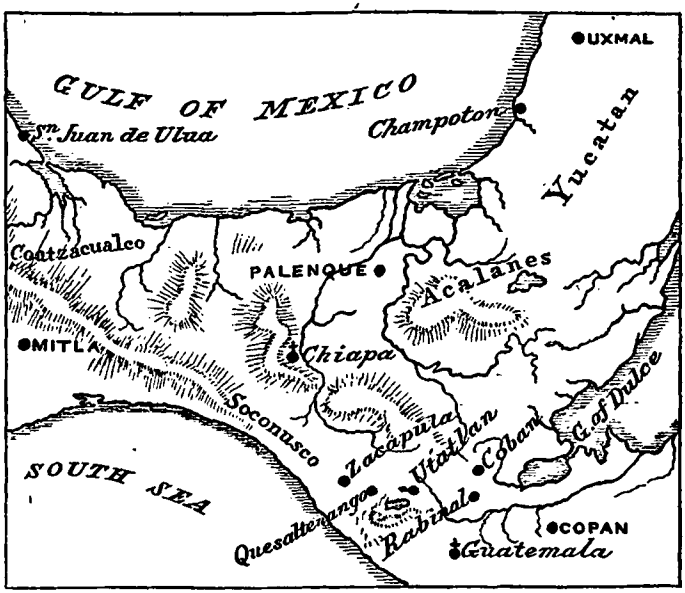
spoken were very numerous—no less than twenty-six are named,*—which shows how much the people of that district were broken up into mere tribes, a division tending greatly to facilitate the conquests of the Spaniards, but to embarrass them in all their dealings with the country when conquered.

Embassage from Guatemala to Cortes.

Returning now to the camp of Cortes at Mexico, we find him informing the Emperor, in the year 1524, that from Utatlan and Guatemala an embassage of an hundred persons had come, offering themselves as vassals to the Spanish monarchy, whom he had received and dismissed with every mark of friendship. Meanwhile, however, this indefatigable commander had made friends with the Soconuscans, and had even begun ship-building on that part of the coast. The Guatemalans, when their embassage returned home, being assured of the friendship of Cortes, were only the more inclined on that account to carry war into the territories of their enemies the Soconuscans, and thus they did not fail to come into

* "Los habitadores del Imperio Mexicano, aunque no hablan la lengua Castellana, pero todos, ó los mas hablan el idioma Mexicano; los del Reyno de Maya, ó Yucatan todos hablaban la lengua Maya, y lo mismo parece que eran los de otros Reynos de América. Y así tengo por cierto, que ninguno de los Reynos del nuevo mundo tiene tantos, y tan diversos idiomas como el de Guatemala: pues en él se hablan las lenguas Quiché, Kachiquel, Zubtugil, Mam, Pocomam, Pipil, ó Nalmate, Pupuluca, Sinca Mexicana, Chorti, Alaguilac, Caichi, Poconchi, Ixil, Zotzil, Tzendal, Chapaneca, Zoque, Coxoh, Chañabal, Chol, Uzpanteca, Lenca, Aguacateca, Maya, Quecchi, y otras: que solo las nombradas son veinte y seis." —Domingo Juarros, *Compendio de la Historia de la ciudad de Guatemala*, tom. 2, tratado 4, cap. 6. Guatemala, 1818.

collision with the settlers sent out by Cortes. For this offence the Guatemalans apologized, but their excuses were not received. The words of Cortes to the Emperor are the following, and show the grounds of the beginning of the war:—"I have been informed by certain Spaniards, whom I have in the province of Soconusco, how those cities, with their provinces (Utatlan and Guatemala),



and another which is called Chiapa,* that is near them, do not maintain that good will which they formerly showed, but, on the contrary, it is said that they do injury to the towns of Soconusco, because they (the Soconuscans) are our friends. The said Christians also write to me that the Guatemalans have sent many messengers to ex-

* This is the first mention of that district, afterwards to become renowned, as the bishopric of Las Casas.

B. XV. Ch. I.

culpate themselves, saying that they did not do it, but others; and to ascertain the truth of this statement, I have sent Pedro de Alvarado, with eighty horsemen, two hundred foot-soldiers, amongst whom were several cross-bowmen and arquebusiers, and four cannon, with much ammunition and powder."*

Pretext of Cortes for invading Guatemala.

It does not need much knowledge of history, nor much experience of life, to foresee what kind of truth would be discovered by this formidable† armament; and it may be useful to notice the mode of interference of a powerful state in the affairs of smaller ones, when it comes before us in this clear and marked way, without any of the complications of nice and difficult diplomacy. This expedition, in which Pedro de Alvarado held the title of lieutenant-governor and captain-general, quitted Mexico on the 6th of December, 1523.

Alvarado commences his expedition against Guatemala, Dec. 1523.

* Lorenzana, p. 350.

† I say "formidable," because, though the numbers of the Spaniards were few, they were probably accompanied by a numerous body of their Indian allies. In such an expedition as this, there would be at least a thousand or fifteen hundred Mexican auxiliaries.

CHAPTER II.

CONQUEST OF GUATEMALA BY PEDRO DE ALVARADO—FOUNDING OF THE TOWN OF GUATEMALA.

INSTEAD of following Alvarado immediately to the fertile valleys of Guatemala, the reader must for a moment give his thoughts to the central region of Spain, and try to picture to himself what sort of a land it is. Let him bring before him a landscape of vast extent in Old or New Castille, unimpeded by landmarks anywhere, brown and stony on the heights, brown and dusty in the valleys; while the towns and villages are seen afar off in the clear air, with no pleasant trees around them, but brown like the rest of the landscape, and not divided from it. Here and there stands out a gnarled and riven olive tree. It is a landscape, not soft or joyous, though equable and harmonious, when seen in the early dawn,—fierce and glowing under the noontide sun,—and grandly solemn and desolate in the shades of the declining day.

To understand any people thoroughly, we must know something of the country in which they live, or, at least, of that part inhabited by the dominant race. The insects partake the colour of the trees they dwell upon, and man is not less affected by the place of his habitation on the earth. Stern, arid, lofty, dignified, and isolated from

B. XV. Ch. 2.

Character of the Spaniard in the 16th century.

the men of other nations, the Spaniard was probably the most remarkable European man in the sixteenth century. He had a clearness of conviction, and a resoluteness of purpose, which resembled the sharp atmosphere in which he had lived, that left no undecided outlines; and as, in the landscape, all variety was amply compensated for by the vast extent of one solemn colour, so, in the Spaniard's character, there were one or two deep tints of love, of loyalty, and of religion, which might render it fervid, bigoted, and ferocious, but never left it small, feeble, or unmeaning.

A body, therefore, of two hundred and eighty men-at-arms of this stamp, each of them having some individuality of character, and yet being inured to discipline, with obedient troops of Mexican Indians (auxiliaries by no means contemptible in war), contained the elements of force sufficient for subjugating a great part of Central America; and we must look upon them with somewhat of the respect which we should feel for a large and well-appointed army.

An old chronicler has compared the advance of Alvarado to the darting of a flash of lightning. The first place the lightning fell upon was Soconusco, the territory in behalf of which the expedition had been sent out. A great battle, accompanied by much slaughter and great destruction (the traces of which were visible nearly a hundred years afterwards), took place on the frontier of that province,—in which battle the King of Zacapula was killed. Of the further advance of the

Great battle in Soconusco.

army we possess an account written by the Conqueror himself, who states that he pushed on from Soconusco to Zacapula,*—from thence to Quezaltenango,—from thence to Utatlan,—fighting, negotiating, and terrifying the Indians into submission. He had previously sent messengers into the country, requiring the inhabitants to submit themselves to

the King of Spain, and threatening with slavery all those who should be taken in arms. No attention was paid to this requisition by the natives. He found the roads that led to Zacapula open and well constructed.† He did not

* The civilization of these parts must have been somewhat of the Mexican and Peruvian order; for Alvarado happens to remark the broad ways and paved streets in Zapotula (Zacapula).

† "Hallé todos los caminos abiertos, i muy anchos, así el Real, como los que atravesaban, i los caminos que iban á las Calles principales tapados."—PEDRO DE ALVARADO, *Relacion á Hernando Cortés.* BARCIA, *Historiadores*, tom. I, p. 157.

B. XV. Ch. 2.

enter the town, forming his camp in the vicinity, until he should understand the disposition of the people towards him. They soon made an attack upon him: he routed them and pursued them into the market-place, where he pitched his camp. In two days' time he set off for Quezaltenango. On a precipitous rock, in a very difficult pass of the mountains, he found the bodies of a woman and a dog that had been sacrificed, which sacrifice, as he learnt from an interpreter, was a mode of expressing defiance. Proceeding further, he found himself in front of thirty thousand enemies; and ill would it have gone with him that day, if, as he says, it had not pleased God that there should be some plains near, on which his cavalry could act with effect. He succeeded, however, in "chastising" the enemy severely, and he notices that in this battle there died one of the four* lords of the city of Utatlan, who was captain-general of the whole country.†

Great battle on the road to Quezaltenango.

Death of Tecum-Umam.

The lord who had died in battle was no other than Tecum-Umam, the monarch, who had fought with great bravery, having been personally engaged, it is said, with Alvarado, and having wounded his horse. There was

* This description coincides with the account we have already had of the mode of government in the kingdom of Quiché, and confirms that account the more, as we may be sure that at that early period Alvarado knew nothing minutely of the administration of the countries he was invading; and indeed his words leave it in doubt whether all these four lords had not equal power, which he probably thought, at that time, they had.

† "En esta murió uno de los quatro Señores de esta Ciudad de Utlatan, que venia por Capitan General de toda la Tierra."—Pedro de Alvarado, *Relacion á Hernando Cortés.* Barcia, tom. 1, p. 158.

nothing now to prevent the march of the Spaniards to Quezaltenango. When the invading army arrived there they found the town quite deserted; but, after they had remained in it a few days to refresh themselves, there started up suddenly a multitude of Indians out of caves in and near the city. Alvarado sallied forth to give them battle. He was victorious, and his victory was accompanied by great slaughter. He himself says that he had already seen some of the fiercest battles in the Indies, and he emphatically describes the slaughter in this rout by saying that his friendly Mexicans and his foot-soldiers made "the greatest destruction in the world."*

Alvarado enters Quezaltenango.

Another great battle.

The chief men of Quiché having lost their king, and their armies having been several times defeated, professed submission, and made no resistance to Alvarado's entering the town of Utatlan. On the contrary, they said they would come there and submit themselves to him. But when the Spanish Commander had entered the town, and seen what sort of a place it was, with very narrow streets, and but two entrances, he resolved to quit it immediately for the plains below. Disregarding the remonstrances of the chiefs, who begged him to stay and refresh himself, he sent on men to secure the causeway, and sallied forth. He did not effect his retreat without some injury from a body of warlike Indians who were drawn up in

Alvarado enters Utatlan.

* "Nuestros amigos, i los Peones hacian una destruicion, la maior del Mundo."—PEDRO DE ALVARADO, *Relacion.* BARCIA, *Historiadores*, tom. I, p. 158.

B. XV. Ch. 2.

large force round the town. Being quite convinced that the chiefs of Quiché had invited him into the town of Utatlan in order that they might destroy him in the narrow streets, he resolved to give a lesson of terror. First, however, he gave them a lesson in dissimulation; for, by gifts and various artifices, he allured them into his power, and then he says, "as I found out that they had such a bad disposition towards His Majesty's service, and as it was also for the good and pacification of this country, I burnt them; and I commanded the city to be burnt and razed to the foundations,—for it is so dangerous and so strong, that it appears more like a robbers' hold than an inhabited town."* This passage deserves to be dwelt upon, because it shows that Utatlan, though a strong, well-built place, was not a town that could claim kindred with the magnificent ruins that are to be found at Mitla, Palenque, Uxmal, or Copan.

Alvarado destroys Utatlan.

Thus ended the greatness of the kingdom of Quiché. The chiefs nominated to royal dignity seem all to have died in battle, or to have been afterwards condemned. Alvarado, however, did not allow the kingly office to perish yet, but appointed two sons of the dead chiefs to succeed them in authority. As for the mass of the people, he treated them, not as warriors

* "É como conoscí de ellos tener tan mala voluntad á servicio de su Magestad; í para el bien, í sosiego de esta Tierra, Yo los quemé, í mandé quemar la Ciudad, í poner por los cimientos; porque es tan peligrosa, í tan fuerte, que mas parece Casa de Ladrones, que no de Pobladores." —Pedro de Alvarado, *Relacion.* Barcia, *Historiadores,* tom. 1, p. 159.

contending for their country, but as traitorous rebels; and all who were taken in war were branded as slaves. This mixture of legal persecution with the brutality of an armed force is almost the worst feature in the Spanish warfare with the

Indians. There is also no little pedantry about it. On a future occasion, Alvarado says,—"I instituted a process against them, and against the others who had warred against me, and I summoned them by heralds; and not the more did they choose to come. And as I saw their rebelliousness, the process was concluded: I gave sentence, and condemned them as traitors,—the lords of these provinces in the penalty of death, and the rest as slaves."

Alvarado does not forget his devoutness, for, at the conclusion of his second letter to Cortes, he

B. XV. Ch. 2.

begs that there may be a solemn procession in Mexico of all the *clerigos* and friars, in order that "Our Lady" may aid him, since, as he says, "we are so far from succour, if from thence (he means from Heaven) it does not come to us."*

From Utatlan he marched in two days to Guatemala,† where he was very well received,—accord-

GUATEMALA AND TUZULUTLAN.

ing to his own account, as if he had been in his

* "Suplico á Vuestra Merced mande hacer una Procesion en esa Ciudad de todos los Clérigos, í Frailes, para que Nuestra Señora nos aiude; pues estamos tan apartados de socorro, si de álla no nos viene."—PEDRO DE ALVARADO, *Relacion.*

† This may have been Tecpan Guatemala, and not San Miguel Tzacualpa. It would be very difficult to get with an army from Utatlan to Tzacualpa in two days.

father's house. But not resting there, he proceeded, as he says, to conquer a people who dwelt upon Lake Atitan (probably Amatitan), and who had made themselves so strong in those waters, that they were able to harass all their neighbours without being liable to be attacked in their turn. Alvarado routed this people, but most of them were able to escape by swimming. From thence he again proceeded, conquering the Indian tribes he met with, or bringing them into subjection by means of messengers, who, sometimes by threats, sometimes by promises of favour, contrived to secure the allegiance of the natives. Occasionally Alvarado was defeated in his encounters with the Indians, in consequence of the roughness of the ground, or the density of the woods where they took shelter. Finding winter approach, he returned to his friendly Guatemalans, in whose country he founded the city of Santiago of Guatemala. It was in the month of July of the year 1524, that the army arrived at a spot which the natives called Panchoy—meaning "great lake." Not that there was any lake there, but the form of the ground, surrounded by mountains, suggested the idea of a lake.* The soldiers were delighted with the beauty of this spot. The freshness of its foliage, the gentleness of its streams, the colour of its pastures, which seemed to them admirably adapted for cattle,—all these things allured them to choose this place. It would have been difficult, however, in the whole

Alvarado conquers the dwellers on Lake Atitan, or Amatitan.

The first site of the town of Guatemala.

* Perhaps the name of Panchoy, commemorated the former state of the country.

B. XV. Ch. 2.

world, to have found a more dangerous site to build a town upon; but this was not yet suspected by the Spaniards, who, wearied by months of harassing warfare, found in this green plain something which must have reminded them of the most beautiful parts of Andalucia. The Mexican Indians who accompanied the army called the spot Almolonca, which meant in their language "water-spring," as there was a spring on the skirt of a neighbouring mountain of great height and extent,* from which flowed many abundant rivulets. On this account the Spaniards called it *Volcan de Agua*, to distinguish it from another mountain close by, which they called *Volcan de Fuego*, as flames of fire continually came out of it. In the valley between these two suspicious-looking mountains, only a league and a half asunder, Alvarado began to build his new town. Still it was but a temporary town, built of slight materials, and with no settled polity, any more than if it were an army in its tents and pavilions.†

The neighbourhood of Santiago de Guatemala.

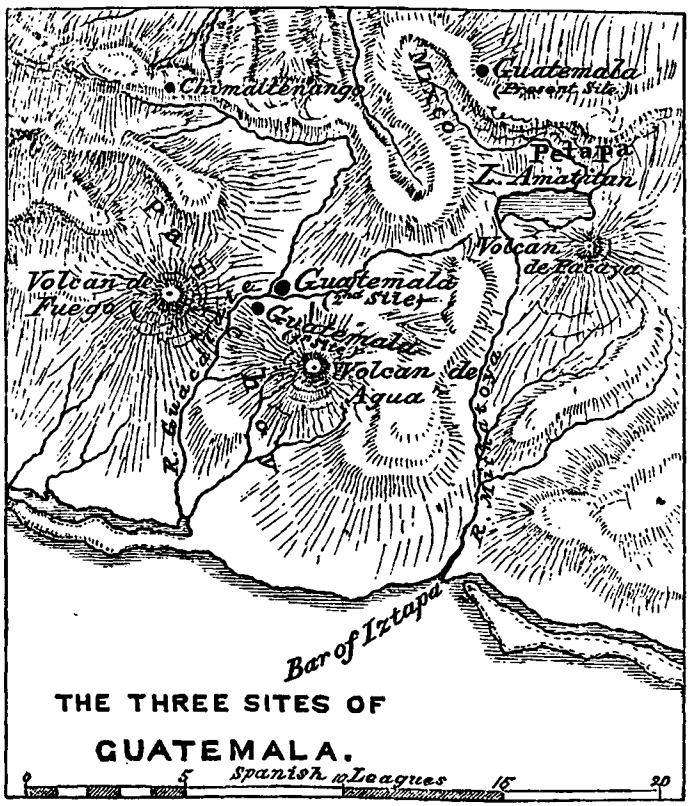
July 25, 1524.

On the 25th of the month, being the day

* "Y los Indios Mexicanos que yuan en el exército, llamaron al sitio *Almolonca*, que quiere dezir Manantial de agua, por uno muy grande que hallaron á la falda de un monte de quatro leguas en alto, y diez y ocho en circunferencia, en que nacen otras muchas y muy caudalosas fuentes." —Remesal, *Hist. de Chiapa y Guatemala*, lib. 1, cap. 2, p. 4.

† It has been a question discussed by all the historians of Guatemala where the chief city of Guatemala was situated. Dissenting from every one of the reasons given by the historian Fuentes, I yet agree with him in his conclusion that the Indian town of Guatemala was situated close to the town of the Spaniards, where the village of San Miguel Tzacualpa now stands. Alvarado's third letter to Cortes seems to me decisive upon this point. The word Tzacualpa means old town.

of Santiago (St. James the Apostle), the patron saint of Spain, the whole army, dressed in the most splendid manner, being adorned with plumes of feathers, gold and jewels, went forth to hear the celebration of a solemn mass. Then they all called upon Santiago, and gave his name

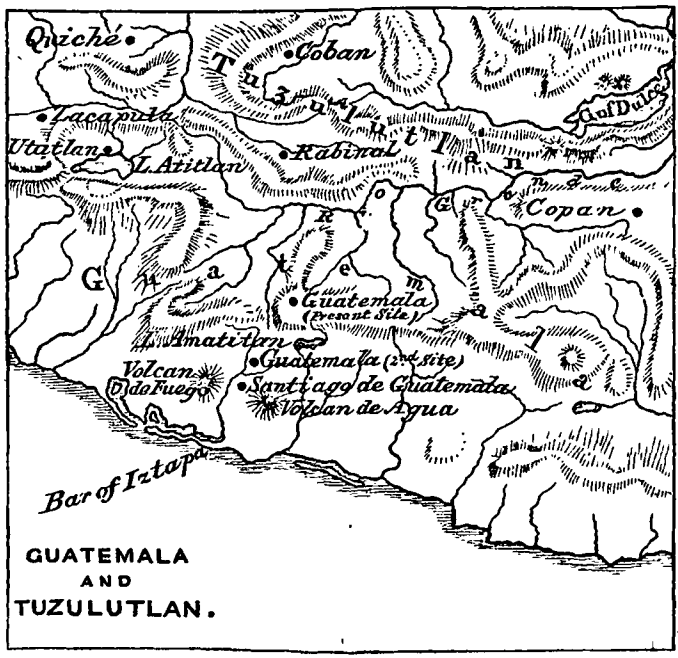


to the town; doing him this further honour, that they founded a church which they dedicated to his name. On that same day the *alcaldes*, the *regidores*, and the *alguazils* were appointed; and it may be remarked that, on the

B. XV. Ch. 2.

very first day of their coming into office, they did a thing which, in modern times, we should not deem very wise: they fixed the price of provisions.*

It was at this time that Alvarado heard of great cities, built of stone and mortar, further inland; and of one especially, about fifteen days' journey from Guatemala, which was said to be as



large as Mexico. This, I conjecture, must have been Copan. To show the populousness of this

* A pig weighing thirty *areldes* was not to be sold for more than twenty *pesos* of gold; and one of twenty-five *areldes* for seventeen *pesos* of gold. It may show the scarcity of provisions, that a year or two after, eggs were ordered to be sold at a golden *real* for each egg.

district, I cannot do better than cite Alvarado's words, addressed to Cortes:—"From the city of Mexico to the point where I have come and conquered, there are four hundred leagues; and Your Honour may believe that this land is more settled and contains more people than all that Your Honour has hitherto governed."*

The first settlers in Guatemala.

The books of the Town-Council of Santiago—which were fortunately well kept from the foundation of the city, and are frequently referred to by Remesal—give many curious particulars respecting the habits and the legislation of the young settlement. The first inhabitants are all inscribed; and it may be noticed that, though the greatest part of them have two names, yet there are some with only one name—either a christian or a surname,—who may fairly be conjectured to have been persons of very low rank and little breeding. It is painful to think of such men being suddenly transformed into great lords, for so we must consider each Spaniard to whom an *encomienda* of Indians was assigned.

The infant town at first suffered greatly from the deficiency of competition amongst the artizans. The tailor demanded such prices, that it was said each movement of the needle might be reckoned at a *real;* and the shoemaker demanded so much for his work, that though he gave other people

* "Desde esa Ciudad de México, hasta lo que Yo he andado, i conquistado, ai quatrocientas leguas: Y crea Vuestra Merced, que es mas poblada esta Tierra, i de mas Gente, que toda la que Vuestra Merced hasta agora ha governado."—*Otra Relacion de* P. ALVARADO. PARCIA, *Hist.*, tom. I, p. 165.

B. XV. Ch. 2.

leathern shoes, he himself, it was said, might go shod in silver. The Government soon took this matter in hand, and fixed the rate of prices. The artizans, not entirely baffled by the government regulations, resolved not to part with anything unless they were paid in gold or silver, which was not always forthcoming. This cause of vexation lasted for some time, until the Town-Council decided that the artizans should receive their payment in the current money of the country, such as linen, cocoa, and feathers.*

* "Se les mandó recebir la moneda corriente de la tierra, como es ropa, cacao, plumas, y otras cosas de valor."—REMESAL, *Historia de la Provincia de Chiapa y Guatemala*, lib. 1, cap. 3.

CHAPTER III.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DOMINICAN AND FRANCISCAN ORDERS IN NEW SPAIN—LIFE OF DOMINGO DE BETANZOS—LETTERS OF THE FIRST BISHOPS.

LEAVING for a time the rising town of Guatemala, where the inhabitants were so busy in considering their new possessions, discovering mines, making slaves, and breeding cattle—which multiplied in the most marvellous manner—that a year, we are told, passed almost without their perceiving it, we must turn to a greater subject even than the conquest of New Spain and Guatemala—namely, the spiritual occupation of these new countries. Hitherto, though there had generally been priests and chaplains in the invading armies (there was one in each of Alvarado's expeditions), these men had been able to effect but little, in the dense mass of heathenism to which they had been opposed, beyond the mere destruction of idols and of temples. But when, in 1522, news arrived in Spain of the conquest of Mexico, and when Cortes, who was a devout man, prayed in his letters to the Emperor to have *religiosos* sent out for converting the Indians, the matter was taken seriously in hand. It happened, too, that just about the time that these letters arrived, Antonio Montesino, already well

B. XV. Ch. 3.

known to the readers of this history, and Thomas Ortiz, Dominican monks of the convent in the Island of Hispaniola, were at the Court of Spain, probably engaged in some negotiation for the good of the Indians. Charles the Fifth was absent, having gone to Germany to receive the imperial crown. The Bishop of Burgos, as may be recollected, had recovered his power in the Council of the Indies, and he was cold about this business, as he would have been about anything that Cortes recommended, for the Bishop favoured Velazquez and disapproved of Cortes.

Bishop of Burgos died, Aug. 2, 1524.

Fortunately for the New World, this ungodly prelate died about this time; and the reader will remember that Garcia de Loaysa, a Dominican, Bishop of Osma and Confessor to the Emperor, was appointed President of the Council of the Indies, having really enjoyed the power attached to this office for some little time beforehand. It was then resolved by the Indian Council, that twelve Dominicans and twelve Franciscans should be sent to New Spain. The prelate named for the twelve Franciscans was Martin de Valencia. The prelate of the twelve Dominicans, with the title of Vicar-General, was Tomas Ortiz. It was arranged that Antonio Montesino should stay in the Island of Hispaniola, but his superiors gave him six monks of his Order, to found a convent in the Island of San Juan. The Emperor, or his officers acting in his name, provided all these monks with robes of serge, a material which they chose in order to make demonstration of their poverty. Charles also furnished them with all that was necessary for

Twelve Dominicans and twelve Franciscans to be sent to New Spain.

their voyage. The Franciscans and Dominicans were to go together, in order to show their brotherly feeling; and they were all at San Lucar, ready to set sail, when a message came from the Bishop of Osma to Tomas Ortiz, requiring him to return to Court. A junta was about to be formed of learned and conscientious persons (*de sciencia y consciencia*) to discuss the question of Indian slavery; and the advice of Father Tomas, as a man of experience in the Indies, would be required. He was obliged to obey this command, and accordingly he delegated his authority of Vicar-General to Antonio Montesino, who was to convey the Dominican monks to the convent at San Domingo in Hispaniola, and there await Tomas Ortiz's arrival.

Tomas Ortiz recalled.

The Franciscans and Dominicans set sail together. The Dominicans were landed in Hispaniola; the Franciscans pursued their course to New Spain. They had a prosperous voyage; and, landing at Vera Cruz, took their way to Mexico, where they arrived two days before Whit-Sunday, in the year 1524. They were very well received by Cortes, whom they met on the road, as he was commencing his expedition to Honduras. Cortes, from his natural feelings of respect for these good men, and also from a desire to impress that respect upon his own men and upon the natives, knelt down before the Franciscan fathers, and kissed their robes in the most reverent manner. The Indians, noticing the poverty-stricken appearance of the monks, uttered the word "*Motolinia*, *moto-*

The Dominicans land in Hispaniola.

The Franciscans arrive in New Spain, 1524.

Reception of the Franciscans by Cortes.

B. XV. Ch. 3.

linia," meaning "poor," an epithet that was immediately adopted by one of these Franciscan monks, Father Toribio Paredes de Benavente, who became very celebrated,* and was ever afterwards called Father Toribio Motolinia.

These Franciscans, however, were not the first of their Order who had arrived in New Spain, though they were probably the first that were sent out officially. Two years previously, five Franciscans had come to New Spain, three of whom were Flemings. The two Spaniards died very soon; the three Flemings survived to welcome their brethren; and one of them, Peter of Ghent, became, as we shall hereafter see, one of the most useful and distinguished men in the community.

To return to the Dominicans. The business for which Tomas Ortiz had been summoned to Court was not settled speedily; and, indeed, he was detained† during the whole of the year 1525.

* He wrote a work, of which the following is the title:—"Fr. Toribio de Benavente, ó Motolinia, Franciscano, *de las Costumbres de los Indios*, en Latin, MS. Otro Libro he visto de este Autor, cuio Título es: *Relacion de las Cosas, Idolatrías, Ritos, í Ceremonias de la Nueva-España*, MS. fol." Pinelo, *Epítome de la Bibliótheca Occidental*, Título 17. Historias de los Indios Occidentales, p. 711, Madrid, 1738. This *Relacion* is, probably, the letter before referred to, which is to be found in Sir Thomas Phillipps's library.

† From another and a very truthful source we learn what counsel the monks gave when consulted by Charles's ministers for Indian affairs.

"Sed audi, quid inter nos versetur. De Indorum libertate, super qua variæ sunt opiniones diu discussæ. Nihil adhuc repertum conducibile. Jura naturalia Pontificiaque jubent ut genus humanum omne sit liberum. Imperiale distinguit. Usus adversum aliquid sentit. Longa experientia hoc censet, ut servi sint, non liberi autem hi, quod à natura sint in abomina-

B. XV. Ch. 3.

It was about this time that the Licentiate, Luis Ponce de Leon, was appointed to take a *residencia* of Cortes. The Vicar of the Dominicans thought that it would be advisable for him and his brethren to accompany the Licentiate. They accordingly embarked together on the 2nd of February, 1526. Tomas Ortiz had with him seven Dominican monks. When he arrived at San Domingo, he found that three of his monks there were dead, and that, amongst the survivors, the ardour for going to New Spain had grown somewhat cool, by reason of the rumours which had reached them of the confusion which prevailed in the government of that country. Still, however, they resolved to prosecute their original intention; and setting sail at the end of May, and having a passage which was very swift for those times, they arrived in nineteen days at Vera Cruz. Making their way slowly from thence, they arrived at Mexico some day in July of that year. They, too, were very well received by the whole city, and found hospitable enter-

The Dominicans accompany Ponce de Leon.

They arrive at Mexico, July, 1526.

bilia vitia proclives; ad obscœnos errores, ducibus et tutoribus deficientibus, ilico revertuntur. Accitos in Senatum nostrum Indicum bicolores Dominicanos fratres, et pede nudos Franciscanos illarum partium longo tempore colonos, quid fore putent, satius consuluimus. Nihil à re magis alienum sanxerunt, quam quod liberi relinquantur. Latius et hæc et quæ referent in particularibus. Nunc satis. Vale. Ex Mantua Carpentana (*Matrito*) viii. Calendas Martii, M.D.XXV."—P. MARTYR, *Epist.*, lib. xxxviii. ep. 806.

It is to be noticed here, that the Dominicans and the Franciscans were then of the same mind, and, apparently, adverse to the liberty of the Indians. The monks still remembered, and drew the most unjust conclusions from, those fatal proceedings on the coast of Cumaná, which had ended in the destruction of the Franciscan and Dominican monasteries, and the ruin of Las Casas's scheme of colonization.

B. XV. Ch. 3.

tainment in the Franciscan monastery ruled over by Martin de Valencia.

The arrival of these communities is one of the most important events that took place in that part of the world. The clergy, everywhere powerful in that age, were doubly so in a newly-discovered country, where they would naturally take a much larger part in human affairs than they did even at home. Here, in the Indies, they not only taught spiritual things, but temporal also. They converted, they civilized, they governed; they were priests, missionaries, schoolmasters, kings. It is allowed even by Las Casas, that Mexico presented a favourable appearance as regards the conquered races,—more favourable, at least, than the other dominions of Spain in the Indies.* A considerable share in the credit of this good work must be given to the unwearied labours of the Franciscan and Dominican monks. That the missionary spirit in that age was so potent and so successful as it was, must in some measure be attributed to the intense belief which the missionaries entertained of the advantage to be derived from outward communion of the most ordinary kind. Each priest thought that every Indian he baptized was, so far, a rescued soul; and

The Indies a great sphere of action for the monks.

* "Puesto que en unas partes son (las tiranías) mas fieras, y abominables que en otras. México, y su comarca está un poco menos malo, ó donde á lo menos no se osa hazer públicamente; porque allí, y no en otra parte ay alguna justicia (aunque muy poca) porque allí tambien los matan con infernales tributos." — Las Casas, *Brevíssima Relacion de la Destruycion de las Indias*, p. 49. Sevilla, 1552.

the number of such conversions, however rudely made, was held to be a credit to the converter, to his convent, to his Order, to his Church. This opinion, however, would not alone have caused the rapid progress of these missionaries, had there not been to back it the utmost self-devotion, supreme self-negation, and also considerable skill in their modes of procedure. B. XV. Ch. 3.

As it will be very desirable for any one who wishes to understand this history, to enter into the nature and feelings of the founders of the various convents which afterwards exercised so large an influence on the life of the Spanish colonists and their Indians, I will give some account of the principal monks upon whom rested the great enterprize of Christianizing what part had then been discovered of the New World. Account of the founders of convents in America.

It will be right to begin with the Franciscans, who, as we have seen, were the first monks who entered Mexico. Martin de Valencia, the head of the Order of Saint Francis, was a monk who, in early life, had intended, from his love of solitude and contemplation, to become a Carthusian. He afterwards gave up this intention, but entered into a Franciscan convent in a very retired situation. There he suffered terrible perturbations, apprehensions, and imaginations, "concerning the things of our sacred Faith."* In the end, Martin de Valencia. His spiritual conflicts.

* "Allí alcançó grandes consuelos celestiales, y tambien padeció terribles inquietudes y perturbaciones del demonio, aprehensiones y imaginaciones acerca de cosas de nuestra santa fé: con las quales este enemigo mortal de los Santos, le dava contínua batería."—ALONSO FERNANDEZ, *Historia Ecclesiastica de Nuestros tiempos*, lib. 1, cap. 12.

B. XV. Ch. 3.

however, he came out victoriously from all these troubles and dangers, and was suddenly struck with a great wish to convert the infidels. To go and preach in Africa was what he longed for most. This wish was not granted, but he rose in his Order until he became Provincial of the province of San Gabriel. It is mentioned, as an instance of his humility at this time of his life, that, going to his own country to see his relations, when he had arrived at the town where they lived, he began to consider with himself, what cause it was that had brought him there, and imagining that it was a mere worldly one, he resolved to mortify and humiliate himself; whereupon, divesting himself of his upper garments, he put a cord about his neck, and bade his companion drag him by it through the streets where his relations lived, as if he were a common malefactor. Having gone through this humiliation, and without having seen or spoken to any of his relations, he returned to his convent.

Martin de Valencia's humility.

His severity with himself.

When he arrived in Mexico, he maintained the most rigid mode of life. He went barefoot, with a poor and torn robe, bearing his wallet and his cloak on his own shoulders, without permitting even an Indian to assist in carrying them. In this fashion he used to visit the convents under his jurisdiction. Being already an old man when he arrived in Mexico, he could not learn the language with the same facility as his companions; so that what he most devoted himself to, was teaching the little Indian boys to read Spanish. Besides, he bethought him that they would become

His occupations in New Spain.

the teachers of their parents. After the "canonical hours,"* he sang hymns with the little children, and, as we are told, did great good in the Indian villages where he resided. The love of solitude, which so beset him in his youth, had not quitted him in his old age, and he used occasionally to retire to an oratory on a mountain, where he might enjoy the most profound contemplation. B. XV. Ch. 3.

Francisco de Soto was the next man in that Order who attained to high estimation amongst his brethren. He was a man of singular piety, who afterwards refused the bishopric of Mexico. The next was Toribio Motolinia, before mentioned. He devoted himself to teaching, catechising, and baptizing the Indians; and it is said that he baptized no less than four hundred thousand of them. Francisco de Soto. Toribio Motolinia.

But among the Franciscans, the man who perhaps did most service, was Peter of Ghent,† a Flemish lay brother, who, in his humility, never would be anything but a lay brother. He was the first who taught the Mexicans to read, to write, to sing, and to play upon musical instruments. He contrived to get a large school built, where he not only had his pupils taught to read and to write, but also to paint, to make orna- Peter of Ghent. The instruction he gave the Mexicans.

* This means, I am told, after his "office" for the day had been read; and does not allude to the time of day.

† "Fray Pedro de Gante, homme extraordinaire, que l'on dit avoir été fils naturel de l'empereur Charles-Quint."—HUMBOLDT, *Essai Politique sur le Royaume de la Nouvelle-Espagne*, tom. 2me, liv. 3, chap. 8, p. 145. Paris, 1811.

This is a mistake. Peter of Ghent was as old as the Emperor, if not older. If he was any relation to that prince, he must have been his brother.

B. XV. Ch. 3.

mental work in stone,* and to employ themselves in other arts. He was well acquainted with the Mexican language, and would preach, when there was no priest to undertake that office. It is said that he instituted *cofradías* among the Indians.† Many idols and temples owed their destruction to him, and many churches their building. He spent a long life—no less than fifty years—in such labours, and was greatly beloved by the Indians, amongst whom he must have had thousands of pupils. The successor of Zumarraga one day generously exclaimed, "I am not the Archbishop of Mexico, but brother Peter of Ghent is." The poor man was much distressed by a hungry desire, urged upon him by the Evil One, as his biographer tells us, to return to Europe, and to see his pleasant Flanders again; but at last, "with the help of God, he freed himself from this importunate temptation."‡ I hardly know a more touching thing to consider than this inno-

His sore temptation.

* Those who have marked the elaborate stone-work in Ghent which Brother Peter must have been familiar with in his youth, will understand how the good man came to teach his pupils this art.

† "Instituyó las cofradías que tienen los Indios."—Alonso Fernandez, *Historia Ecclesiástica*, lib. 1, cap. 13. It is probable that these *cofradías* were confraternities, lay associations for prayer and good works, similar to those existing at the present day, of St. Vincent de Paul and others.

‡ "Dízese del segundo Obispo, y primero Arçobispo F. Alonso de Montufar, de la Orden de N. P. S. Domingo, que le dixo un dia. 'Yo no soy Arçobispo de México, sino F. Pedro de Gandavo.' Fué este siervo de Dios muy tentado del demonio, para que dexando este tan provechoso ministerio, se bolviesse á su tierra, que era Flandes, aunque con ayuda de Dios se libró desta importuna tentacion."—Alonso Fernandez, *Hist. Ecclesiástica*, lib. 1, cap. 13.

cent, devoted man, after years of school-labour, giving up the one wish of his heart—to see his picturesque and beautiful native town once more, and to be again listening to that language, which, learn however many we may, is the language of our heart, that which we learned in our infancy.

Having said thus much of some of the eminent Franciscans, I proceed to give an account of the life of Domingo de Betanzos, who soon became the chief man of his Order in New Spain; for, out of the twelve Dominicans, five died from the effects of the climate in less than a year, and four others, amongst whom was the Vicar Tomas Ortiz, became so ill, that they were obliged to return to Europe. Domingo de Betanzos was thus left, with two of his brethren, as the sole representatives of the Dominican Order in New Spain.

Domingo de Betanzos; his birth and parentage.

Domingo de Betanzos was born in the town of Leon, of rich parents, in or about the year 1486, and was baptized as Francisco de Betanzos. He was carefully brought up, and sent to study at the University of Salamanca, where, having passed through his course with much credit, he took the degree of licentiate in civil law. He was a grave, good, virtuous youth, whose only pleasure seems to have been in the friendship of a young man of similar character, named Pedro de Aconada. These youths always went to the schools together, as if they had been brothers. They had rooms together; they visited the hos-

B. XV. Ch. 3.

His life at college.

pital and comforted the sick in company; they fed the poor in their own lodgings, and would sometimes give up their own beds to them, sleeping, themselves, upon mats or on the table. The conduct of these young men soon began to be talked about in Salamanca, a kind of publicity which was very odious to Francisco de Betanzos. "It seems to me, my brother," he said to Pedro, "that even the little service that we do Our Lord in this city cannot be continued without the danger of vain-glory seizing upon us, and I myself have not force to wait the attack of such an astute enemy as vain-glory!" He then declared that he wished to lead a solitary life—that he thought his friend wished to do so too, but not with such a fixed resolution as his own—that he therefore would go alone to seek a place of retirement, and would afterwards return to his friend. Pedro de Aconada assented to this proposal.

His pilgrimage to Rome.

In order to lead the life of a hermit, it was necessary to get the permission of the Pope. Accordingly, Francisco de Betanzos commenced his pilgrimage to Rome, begging his way thither, which, as his biographer remarks, was no slight work for a man accustomed to spend money and to command service. In his way to Rome, he came to the celebrated monastery of Montserrat, near Barcelona, and was nearly becoming a monk there. Recollecting, however, that this was not the solitary life he had promised to himself, and that if he adopted it, he would not be able to return to his friend at Salamanca, he proceeded on his way to Rome, where he soon procured the

permission he sought for. From thence he went to Naples, where he heard of a desert island, not far from that city, in which he would be able to find a hermit's retreat. Delighted at this news, he passed over to the island, saw the two or three other hermits who were there, and chose a solitary cell for himself. This island was the barren, little, crescent-shaped rock called Ponza (the Roman Pontia), thirty-five miles distant from Gaeta; whence, on clear days, may be seen Pandataria, the enforced retreat of Julia the dissolute daughter of Augustus, and of Octavia, the doomed wife of Nero. There Betanzos took up his abode, devoting the principal part of his time to prayer and meditation, though spending some hours each day in study. In order to support himself, he had to cultivate a little garden, —a labour which must have been the chief means of securing these poor hermits from insanity. His cell was a miserable subterranean cave, from the roof of which the water slightly oozed out during the greater part of the year. But, as his biographer says, the drops of water could not disgust him with his cell, though this perpetual dripping is one of those things which Solomon accounts sufficient to make a man quit his house. The Devil, who, in these lives of the saints, always makes a considerable figure, endeavoured to render Francisco discontented with his miserable abode, reminding him of his good lodgings at Salamanca, and in the most subtle manner suggesting to him that people would say he was mad. Upon this, the biographer makes a remark

Becomes a hermit at Ponza.

The misery of his abode.

B. XV. Ch. 3.

His temptations in the hermitage.

of shrewd common sense. "Here," he says, "may be seen how far the foot-tracks of the Demon went, in thus maliciously suggesting to the saint what would be said of him; for this is one of the most active and diligent agents which the Evil One has in all his realm of sinful motives."* Meanwhile the saint continued to read on in his book of collations of the fathers, and would not listen to the suggestions of the Devil. Poor youth! though he was only five-and-twenty years old, he became perfectly grey, while living in this wretched hole. At last some fishermen, who were accustomed every year to visit the hermits, and to bring them little presents, paid a visit to the new hermit, and, horrified at the state in which they found him, persuaded him to occupy a cell in another part of the island, where he would be more sheltered.

Meanwhile, Pedro de Aconada, who had waited impatiently for some tidings of his friend, and had received none, entered the Dominican monastery of San Estevan, in Salamanca.

Resolves to return to Salamanca.

Francisco de Betanzos at last bethought him of returning to his companion, of whose change of life he knew nothing. On his way to Salamanca, he passed through his own city of Leon, where his rich parents were residing. There, as he was about to knock at the door of his father's

* "Aquí se verá adonde llegavan las traças del demonio, pues ya dava en devoto, y murmurava del que dirán, que es uno de los mas activos y diligentes agentes, que él tiene en todo su Reyno de pecados."—AUGUSTIN DAVILA PADILLA, *Historia de la Fundacion y Discurso de la Provincia de Santiago de México*, lib. 1, cap. 4. Brusselas, 1625.

house, his father came out on horseback, accompanied by his servants. The son recognised the father; but, as might be expected, the father did not recognise his son. "For the love of Jesus Christ, give some charity to this poor stranger," said Francisco de Betanzos; but his father seeing that the man who asked him alms was grey, yet that he appeared quite capable of work, said, with a loud voice, "It would be far better for you to seek an employer, and to work, than to go about in the idleness of this vagabond life;" and when the master had passed on, the servants were not slow to improve upon his comments.

Does not make himself known to his parents.

Pursuing the route to Salamanca, Betanzos was seized upon by the *alcalde* of a town through which he passed, as a fit person, from his miserable appearance, to be an executioner; but he contrived to escape before he had to perform any of the duties of the office. In the course of the same journey, he came to a town where dwelt a prosperous licentiate, whom he and his friend Aconada had often assisted when this man was a poor fellow-student of theirs at college. The lawyer did not recognise his former patron. He declined to give Betanzos any alms, but pressed good advice upon him with much vehemence. The saint, without making himself known, proceeded on his way. When he arrived at Salamanca, he found that his friend, Pedro de Açonada, had entered the Monastery of San Estevan, in that city. On learning this intelligence, Betanzos felt a strong inclination to return to his cave, and finish his life there, without making

Arrives at Salamanca.

B. XV. Ch. 3.

himself known in Salamanca. Still he wished to see his friend once more; and so one day he went to the convent at the hour they were wont to give out food to the poor, and took his place amongst them. The brother, whose duty it was to administer this charity, saw that there was a difference between Betanzos and the other poor men. Studying his countenance attentively, he came to recollect who he was, having often seen and talked with him when he was a student. The monk said nothing, but went back into the convent; and, when he was amongst his brethren, exclaimed, "Betanzos! Betanzos is at the porter's lodge with the poor!" Pedro de Aconada and the rest of the brothers rushed out to see: they embraced the stranger, and welcomed him with the utmost joy; re-clothed him and comforted him; and then sat down, with all the delight of solitary men, to hear some news. He told them of his journeys, and of his residence as a hermit in the desert island, from whence he said he had returned only that he might bring his friend to enjoy the same kind of life. A cell was given him in the monastery for a few days. The two friends had frequent talk together. Each magnified the profession he had taken up. Pedro de Aconada contended that a life spent in the obedience which a community requires was more serviceable to God than a life spent in solitude. Betanzos replied by alleging the sanctity of several of the great hermits, and, amongst others, of his favourite saint, Mary Magdalen. To this Aconada well replied, "Nothing is so valuable in the esteem of a man as liberty. Now

Betanzos recognised.

Discourse between the friends.

B. XV. Ch. 3.

the solitary does what he likes in the desert, but he who is one of a community lives by the will of another, having resigned his own." After other arguments, he concluded by a quotation from "the Angelic Doctor,"* who says that, although a solitary life is more perfect for those who are already in the way of perfection, yet, for those who are but beginners, the life of obedience in a community is better. The humility of Betanzos would not allow any other reply than that of owning that he was defeated in the controversy, and that he was willing to enter into the monastery of San Estevan, if the brethren would receive him. They did so with joy, and the conventual name of Domingo was given to him.

Enters the monastery of San Estevan, at Salamanca.

In the year 1510, before Brother Domingo had become a monk, Pedro de Córdova, Antonio Montesino, and other Dominicans from the monastery of San Estevan, had gone to St. Domingo in Hispaniola. The monks in the Indies kept up a correspondence with their brethren at Salamanca. Brother Domingo's active soul was soon inspired with a wish to partake the labours of his brethren in foreign parts; and, gaining permission for this journey, he set off for the Indies, accom-

Goes to the Indies.

* St. Thomas Aquinas. The following is probably the passage referred to:—"Ad tertium dicendum, quod actu obedire est necessarium his qui indigent exerceri secundum directionem aliorum ad perfectionem capiendum. Sed illi qui jam perfecti sunt, spiritu Dei sufficienter aguntur, ut non indigeant actu aliis obedire. Habent tamen obedientiam in præparatione animi."—*Summa, Secunda Secundæ*, quæst. 188, art. 8, p. 401. Antwerpiæ, 1624.

B. XV. Ch. 3.

panied by a lay brother. His friend Aconada did not accompany him, but was one of those Dominicans who went out from the monastery of San Estevan, a religious house full of life for good works of all kinds,* to found a convent at Talavera—one of those which have no lands of their own, but where the brotherhood must live on charitable donations. So the friends now parted once more, never to see one another again, I fear, in this life. It was in the year 1514 that Betanzos arrived at the Dominican monastery in Hispaniola. There he must have been present at the various events which have been narrated as having occurred in that monastery. He must have listened to, and no doubt applauded, the bold sermon of Antonio Montesino. He must have signed the Declaration which the Dominicans sent to Spain on that occasion; and we know that he was the person who principally persuaded Las Casas to enter the monastic life, and became, as it were, the spiritual father of that celebrated man. He had afterwards been brought by Tomas Ortiz to Mexico, in the year 1526; and now, by the accident of the numerous deaths, which have before been mentioned, had become the principal Dominican in New Spain. It seems that other persons were not unwilling to enter the monastic Orders, and that many came to his convent for that purpose, but he was the only priest that was left, and was in great fear lest he should be taken

Enters the Dominican monastery in Hispaniola.

Accompanies Ortiz to Mexico. 1526.

Is the only priest left in that Order at Mexico.

* "Con ser aquel convento reformadíssimo."—DAVILA PADILLA, *Hist. de la Provincia de Santiago de México*, lib. 1, cap. 5.

from them by death, and they should be left without a pastor.

The extreme attention which these Orders, on their first establishment in the Indies, gave to the precepts of their founders may be seen in the mode of life adopted in the Dominican convent of which Betanzos was the head. The dress of the monks was a linen tunic, over which came a coarse serge robe. Even these miserable clothes were not to be washed unless the prelate gave permission. The furniture of the cell corresponded with the poverty of the dress. The bedding consisted of a mat and two blankets. The pillow was nothing more than the outer garment which the monks used by day, rolled up into the form of a pillow. It was profanity (such are the words) to imagine that any ornament was to be permitted in the cell, or any table-cloth upon the table, or any curtain in the doorway, or any blind at the window. The food was of the poorest description. The refection on the fast days, which extended over seven months in the year, and all the Fridays, was only a bit of bread; and on the days of the fasts of the Church, the only thing put on the table was a jar of water.* Very rarely they had some fish. "In the time of the sainted Betanzos," his biographer says,

Hardness of life adopted by the monks in the Indies.

* "La colacion los dias de ayuno (que son siete meses contínuos en el año, sin todos los Viérnes dél) era, y es agora con solo un pedaço de pan, porque no haga mal el agua: y los dias de ayuno de la Yglesia no ay mas regalo en la mesa que un jarro de agua."—DAVILA PADILLA, *Hist. de la Provincia de Santiago de México*, lib. I, cap. II.

B. XV. Ch. 3.

"it was a certain specific* for a brother to receive a ration of eggs, which was only given in cases of illness." To eat at all in the houses of laymen, or, indeed, anywhere but in the refectory, was a forbidden thing to a monk. In all their journeys they were obliged to go on foot. The principal ecclesiastics and the aged adapted themselves as rigorously to this rule as the youngest monk; and we shall hereafter find that even an aged bishop would make the rounds of his diocese on foot. It may easily be imagined that men so versed in self-denial would be ready and able to embrace the sternest duties of a missionary life.

The Dominicans act as peace-makers.

The Dominican community were not, however, first called on to busy themselves in spiritual matters, but to compose the differences of the official men by whom they were surrounded. It was in the company of Ponce de Leon that the Dominicans had come, but it is probable that they never saw him after they parted from him at Santa Cruz, for he died, as has been mentioned, in a few days after his arrival in the city of Mexico. Dying, he gave his wand to Marcos de Aguilar, an old and ailing man, who did not live many months, and who, on his death-bed, passed the wand of office to the treasurer, Alonzo de Estrada. The partisans of Cortes wished that he should take a share in the government, but Cortes prudently refused; for, as the rude soldier,

* "En tiempo del Santo Betanços era recepta de salud llevar á un frayle una racion de huevos, quando el Prelado conocia su debilidad, ó enfermedad."—Davila Padilla, *Hist. de la Provincia de Santiago de México*, lib. I, cap. II.

Bernal Diaz, says, "he did not choose to play any more upon that key."* Estrada banished Cortes, for reasons which are given at large in another part of this history, and hereupon it was that the Dominicans came in as peace-makers, in which capacity Tomas Ortiz and Domingo de Betanzos distinguished themselves especially. It was then that the effects of the climate began to tell upon the Dominican monks, that a large proportion of them died almost immediately, that others were on the high road to death, and that Domingo de Betanzos, already inured to the climate by his life in Hispaniola, was the only priest left in the community. He was, moreover, Inquisitor in New Spain, but I do not find that he did anything in this office.

Death and sickness of several Dominicans at Mexico.

Domingo de Betanzos was not, however, long left in comparative solitude, for there came from Spain, in the year 1528, seven Dominican brothers, with a vicar at their head, a celebrated man and a very learned preacher, whose name was Vicente de Santa Maria. Indeed, there was a perfect fury for missionary undertakings, when the news of the harvest that was to be reaped in New Spain pervaded the old kingdom. It was in vain that, at the same time, the difficulties and dangers of the voyage, the insalubrity of the climate for newcomers, or the rude nature and habits of the Spanish colonists were bruited about. The prelates saw with astonishment, and not a little dismay,

More Dominicans arrive in the Indies. 1528.

* "Nunca quiso tocar mas en aquella tecla."—Bernal Diaz, cap. 193.

B. XV. Ch. 3.

that this wild desire for going to the Indies seized not upon the younger members only, but upon grave and ancient men in their communities, men exercised in honourable offices, punctual in the choir, constant in prayer, learned men, masters in theology.* The heads of monastic establishments could not bear to see such persons quitting their spheres of usefulness, and rushing wildly into foreign parts. It is not difficult, however, to understand the feelings of these old men, and to appreciate their longing, after a life of routine, to find something worthy to do on behalf of others, and (since mere human inducements will twine themselves round the highest motives) something new to see and to apprehend. The prelates† felt it their duty to put a stop to this flood of emigration; but their efforts in that direction did not at all suit the views of the Emperor, who wrote upon the subject to Sylvestro de Ferrara, the General of the Order of St. Dominic, residing at Rome. The General, coinciding with the Emperor, issued letters patent, ordering "that no one should dissuade, hinder, or prohibit any of the Order from passing to the Indies to preach and teach the Faith to the natives, a duty very suitable for that religious body which has the eminent name of 'preachers.'" "This gate being opened,

Exceeding desire amongst the Dominicans to go to the Indies.

The General of the Dominicans favours that desire.

* "Exercitados en oficios honrosos, seguidores de comunidad, puntuales en el coro, contínuos en la oracion, exemplares para la juventud, letrados doctos, lectores, maestros, porque á los príncipios no passava á Indias sino gente desta calidad."—REMESAL, lib. 1, cap. 17.

† The word prelate had not the limited sense in Spain which it has with us. The head of any body of monks or ecclesiastics might be called a prelate.

which for some appeared the gate of heaven," the Dominican monks hastened to avail themselves of the opportunity; but of the many who offered themselves for this service, only forty were chosen at first. Of these, twenty were sent about the year 1528, with the indefatigable Antonio de Montesino, to the province of Venezuela, where Charles had agreed to give a large tract of country to certain Germans of the town of Augsburg. Nothing could be more unfortunate for the natives than this grant. For many years the country was desolated by these Germans. There appears to have been something like official authority for saying that they made and sold a million of slaves.* Nothing more of Antonio Montesino is known than what may be gathered from a short note in the margin of the registry of his profession in the monastery of San Estevan at Salamanca, which says, "*Obiit martyr in Indiis.*"

Antonio de Montesino sent to Venezuela.

Death of Antonio Montesino.

Tomas Ortiz was persuaded to go with the other twenty monks to Santa Martha, in company with a certain Captain Garcia de Lerma, who was to be the governor of that province. Ortiz received the office of Protector of the Indians, and afterwards, in 1529, the bishopric of Santa Martha; and thus it was that he did not resume his office

Ortiz sent to Santa Martha.

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* Remesal, quoting Las Casas, says, "Todas estas cosas estan provadas con muchos testigos por el Fiscal del Consejo de las Indias. Dize luego: Que han robado al Rey mas de tres millones de castellanos de oro, y que han sacado mas de un cuento de Indios de la Provincia á vender á otras partes, sin aver mas causa para hazerlos esclavos de sola la perversa, ciega, y obstinada voluntad, por cumplir con su insaciable codicia de dineros."—Remesal, *Hist. de Chiapa y Guatemala*, lib. 1, cap. 17.

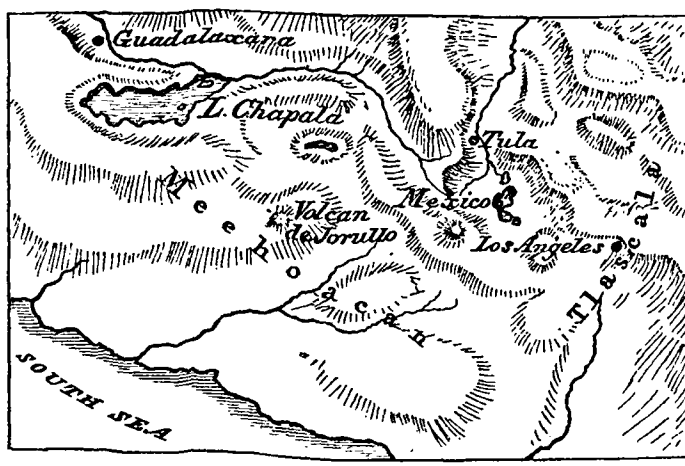
B. XV. Ch. 3.

of Vicar of the seven Dominicans that came to Father Betanzos. Lerma's expedition was nearly as deplorable as that of the Germans. Ortiz, an unwearied defender of the Indians, must have suffered and have laboured much, and he died in two years after his appointment as a bishop.

Death of Ortiz. 1531.

In any account of the early Church in the Indies, the appointment of the first bishops must be duly recorded. Julian Garces, a very learned man and an elegant Latin writer,* was the first bishop of the see that was first erected in New Spain—namely, that of Los Angeles, in Tlascala.

Appointment of the first bishops in the Indies.



He was appointed in 1522, being then seventy years old. The first bishop of the city of Mexico was Juan de Zumarraga. He had been guardian

* "Salió tan aprovechado en la erudicion de la Lengua Latina, que dezia dél el Maestro Antonio de Nebrija, que lo fué, y es de las primeras letras que se aprenden en España; *Que le convenia estudiar, para igualar con Garces.*"—GIL GONZALEZ DAVILA, *Teatro Eclesiástico de la Primitiva Iglesia de las Indias Occidentales*, tom. 1, p. 80. Madrid, 1649.

of a convent near to Valladolid, called the Convent of Abroxo, in which the Emperor Charles the Fifth used to make an occasional "retreat," and he was appointed bishop by the Emperor, in the year 1527. These two bishops were great defenders of the Indians. It has already been seen how much the Bishop of Mexico dared and suffered on behalf of the natives, when resisting the tyranny of the first *Audiencia*. The Bishop was an especial friend of Domingo de Betanzos; and, indeed, it appears that in the early life of the Church in the Indies, the heads of the different Orders and the bishops were so occupied by the pressure of great duties, that they were lifted above all those small disputes to which in other instances we have seen the most pious men not superior.

It happens that two important letters remain, one written by each of these prelates, giving an account of the conversions in their respective dioceses. The letter of the Bishop of Mexico bears date the 12th of June, 1531, and was addressed to a general Chapter of the Franciscan Order, held at Toulouse. The letter of the Bishop of Tlascala was addressed to Pope Paul the Third.* From both these letters, joined to some information which is to be gained from the acts of the first council held in the Indies, under the presidency of Martin de Valencia, the Pope's Legate, we are able to form something like a complete picture of

* I have not been able to ascertain the exact date, which is not given in the body of the letter. Paul III. was elected in 1534; the date of the letter must therefore be after that, and before 1537, when the brief was issued.

B. XV. Ch. 3. the state of this early Church in relation to the Indians.

Bishop of Mexico's letter. 1531. The Bishop of Mexico informs his Order that more than ten times one hundred thousand Indians have been baptized by their Order in the Indies, five hundred temples have been thrown down, and twenty thousand idols broken in pieces, or burnt. In place of these temples have arisen churches, oratories, and hermitages. But, as the good Bishop says, that which causes more admiration is, that, whereas they were accustomed each year in this city of Mexico to sacrifice to idols more than twenty thousand hearts of young men and young women, now all those hearts are offered up, with innumerable sacrifices of praise, not to the Devil, but to the Most High God.

Destruction of idols.

Praise of the Indian children. Both bishops are loud in the praise of the Indian children. The Bishop of Mexico says, that they fast very precisely, and pray fervently; that most of the children, as also others of riper age, can read, write, and sing very well. They rise at midnight to matins, and go through the office of "Our Lady." The Bishop of Tlascala, speaking of the children in his diocese, says, that they not only imbibe, but exhaust the Christian doctrines,* and the learned Bishop draws largely upon his knowledge of Latin adjectives, to give His Holiness a notion of the goodness of these little Indian boys.

* "Christianorum Decreta non hauriunt modo, sed exhauriunt, at veluti ebibunt."—*Concilios Provinciales 1° y 2do celebrados en la Ciudad de México,* (edited by F. A. Lorenzana), tom. 1, p. 16. México, 1769. There is also a copy of the Bishop of Tlascala's letter in Davila Padilla, p. 133.

B. XV. Ch. 3.

Both of the bishops speak of the singular intelligence of the children, and the Tlascalan prelate says, that it has often occurred to him to consider, whether their wonderful temperance (*mira in cibo simplicitas*) has not something to do with their intelligence. He confirms his reverend brother as to the skill in music of the children, and says that they so thoroughly master all kinds of church music, that there is not much need of foreign musicians.*

Skill of the Indians in music.

Bishop of Tlascala's letter.

The Bishop of Tlascala's letter is written with a controversial purpose; to refute, as he says, "that most vain opinion" of those who say that the Indians are incapable of being brought into the bosom of the Church. But who, he asks, will have "the impudent mind and hardened forehead" to assert these men to be incapable of the Faith, whom we find to be most capable of mastering the mechanical arts?†

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* "Jam verò Ecclesiasticus Cantus, seu Organicus, seu armonicus, seu rithmicus, absolutissimè ab eis perdiscitur, ita ut extranei musici non magnopere desiderenter." — *Concilios Provinciales de México*, F. A. LORENZANA, tom. I, p. 17.

† Of the delicate work of the Mexican Indians, of their skill in design, and of the goodness of their memories, the following extract from a letter of a Franciscan monk in Mexico to his brethren at Bologna gives a good account:—

"Egli non havevano caratteri, ne sapevano dipingere, ma havevano gran memoria, e facevano belle figure con penne di diversi animali et etiam di pietra. Al presente meglio dipingono di voi, e fanno diverse figure di santi con quelle penne, delle quali ne ho veduto due, quale questi padri che son passati di quà portano à Roma al beatissimo padre Papa Paulo, e son più belle che se fussero di oro, over argento. Mandano etiam questi Indiani tre casse piene di pietre preziose con alcune di queste figure, e etiam con due bellissime spalere al Papa."

La Lettera mandata dal R. Padre frate FRANCESCO DA BOLOGNA *dal India over nòva Spagna et della Città di*

B. XV. Ch. 3.

It is a point with both bishops, but more especially with the Tlascalan prelate, to show that the Indians enter into the spirit of the Confessional. The learned Bishop gives numerous instances of their intelligence in this respect; and, to show their apprehension of sacred things, he mentions how an Indian had asked whether he ought to continue praying while mass was going on, or to cease with his private prayers, and pay more attention then to the divine words.* He also mentions that they would repeat over again with a dove-like simplicity things which they had once confessed, but which they had not thoroughly explained before, or which at least had not been understood by the confessors. The views of the Indians, previously to the introduction of Christianity amongst them, were such as to favour the practice of confession. In the province of Guatemala, if, in travelling, they met a panther, they would commence confessing their sins to him; and if many of them were journeying in company together, they would sit down, declaring that the panther was the sin of some one of them, and that the sinner should be slain by their hands.† They also

Indians at confession.

Mexico al R. P. frate Clemente da Monelia, & à tutti li Venerandi padri di essa provincia. Tradotta in vulgare da uno frate d'il prefato ordine di minori d'osservanza. Bologna, *s. d.*

* " Rogatus fuit à quodam Religiosus quispiam ; utrum orare deberet in Sacris Mysteriis, an cessare, atque attentius verba divina auscultare." — *Concilios Provinciales de México,* F. A. Lorenzana, tom. 1, p. 25.

† " Assentávanse, afirmando que aquel tigre era el pecado de alguno, y que el que allí yua culpado moriria á sus manos."— Alonzo Fernandez, *Histor. Eccles.*, lib. 1, cap. 41.

considered diseases to be signs of sin; and when an acute distemper seized them, they would commence confessing old sins of ten or twenty years ago, holding this to be their principal medicine. It is easy to see how readily they would adopt the system of frequent confession as prescribed by the Church of Rome. As regards polygamy, it seems almost miraculous to the Bishop of Tlascala with what ease the priests had been able to put down that, and to make the Indians contented with one wife.

Polygamy.

Touching the aptitude of the Indians for confession, which indeed was no new* thing to them, we have a singular confirmation to the testimony of the two bishops, in a note to the account of the proceedings of the first Council of Mexico, which was not written for any purpose of controversy. It says, "The fervour of the Indians in confession is incredible;" and it adds this curious fact, that some confessed themselves carrying painted representations in hieroglyphics of their sins, while others, who had learned to write in the Spanish manner, brought written accounts of their sins.†

The Bishop of Mexico mentions that the children steal away the idols from their fathers, for

* See vol. 1, book 5, p. 277.

† "Es increible el fervor de los Indios en la primera Conversion, pues corrian á tropas á pedir Confesion, ó importunaban á los Confesores, para que les oyessen muchas veces: Unos se confesaban llevando pintados los pecados con ciertos caracteres, con que se pudieran entender, y los iban declarando, pues este era el modo de escritura, que usaban en su Gentilidad, y otros, que habian aprendido á escribir, trahian sus pecados escritos."—*Concilios Provinciales de México*, F. A. Lorenzana, tom. 1, p. 3.

B. XV. Ch. 3. which, he says, some of them have been "inhumanly put to death by their fathers; but they live crowned in glory with Christ."

Bishop of Tlascala's peroration.

The Bishop of Tlascala brings his letter to a conclusion by saying, in a fine metaphorical strain, "We shall strike at the walls of the demons with a double battering ram, if we rescue the native Indians from the possession which of old these demons have had over them, and if, at the same time, with the gold gotten in the Indies, we can drive them from the bounds of Europe" (he alludes to the war against the Turks); and he ends by imploring the Pope not to fail in sending money and soldiers—he means monks (for the Bishop keeps up the military metaphor)—lest any blame should be imputed to His Holiness for neglect of this great duty.

Practical details in the Bishop of Mexico's letter.

The Bishop of Mexico, whose letter is less ambitious, gives us an account that shows the manner in which those great spiritual changes had been brought about. He tells his Franciscan brethren how each convent of their Order has a building attached to it in which the Indian children are taught, where there are a school, a dormitory, and a chapel;* and he proceeds to celebrate the merits of Peter of Ghent, who, he says, has charge of more than six hundred boys. The Empress also has sent six women to teach the girls, and has commanded a great building to be

* "Cada convento de los nuestros tiene otra casa junto, para enseñar en ella á los niños, donde ay Escuela, Dormitorio, Refitorio, y una devota Capilla." —Gil Gonzalez Davila, *Teatro Eccles.*, tom. 1, p. 27.

constructed which will hold a thousand children.* "Brother Peter of Ghent," the Bishop mentions, takes great interest in promoting the marriage of the young men and maidens whom he has had under his care. Teaching them well what are the duties of matrimony, he makes them marry on festival days with much solemnity.†

The facts narrated in the episcopal letters afford a clear view of the gradual advance of the Romish Church in these regions; and we may easily infer, what we shall afterwards see

* This statement is not found in DAVILA, but appears in the copy of the letter given by TORQUEMADA (*Monarquia Indiana*, lib. 20, cap. 33). These copies differ considerably: they are probably extracts translated from a Latin original.

It appears from the following passage of Francesco da Bologna's letter, that two daughters of Montezuma were among the young women educated by the matrons sent from Spain, according to the instructions of the Empress. I think there is evidence to show that the Empress, during her regency, gave much attention to the affairs of the Indies:—

"Circa d'instruere le donne, noi habbiamo fatto venire matrone assai di Spagna, quali sono del Terzo ordine nostro, e fanno le schuole di Donzelle simile alle nostre, & dicono l' officio della gloriosa Vergine Maria, come fanno li frati, & le insegnano à filare, cucire, tessere, & altri opportuni essercitii che se gli appartengono, e sono quasi tutte figliuole de gran Signori, & tra le quale ce ne sono due figliuole del primo Principe di questa Provincia."

La Lettera mandata dal R. Padre frate FRANCESCO DA BOLOGNA *dal India over nova Spagna et della Città di Mexico al R. P. frate Clemente da Monelia.* Bologna, *s. d.*

† "Entre los Frayles mas aprovechados en la Lengua de los Naturales, ay uno particular, llamado Fray Pedro de Gante Lego, tiene cuydado de mas de seiscientas niñas, y cierto es un principal Paraninfo, que industria los moços, y mozas que se han de casar, en las cosas de Nuestra Fe Christiana y como se han de aver en el Santo Matrimonio, y enseñados, los haze casar en los dias de fiesta, con mucha solenidad."—GIL GONZALEZ DAVILA, *Teatro Eccles.*, tom. I, p. 27.

B. XV. Ch. 3.

The Church the great protector of the Indians.

proved, that the Church would come forward as the great protector of the Indians, loving them much as converts, more as pupils, and having that general feeling of humanity and philanthropy which learning and devout study tend to foster. The soldier, in those days, was apt to consider the Indian as a fierce and yet cowardly enemy, or as a mere slave; the priest looked upon the same Indian as a possible Christian, who would be more docile and devout than the priest's own fellow-countrymen, the Spaniards. Of the excellent Bishop of Mexico,* whose letter has thus thrown some light upon this period, I find that, after a life spent in active goodness, he died in the year 1548, burdened with many debts, contracted in founding churches and succouring the poor, all which debts the Emperor—who, throughout the course of Indian legislation, always comes forward as a good and true king—took upon himself, and caused to be paid from his own revenues.†

* It is worthy of notice, that Cortes, who knew men well, chose Bishop Zumarraga and Domingo de Betanzos as two out of the four executors of his very important will.—See *Doc. Inéd*, tom. 4, p. 275.

† "Murió con muchas deudas, contraidas en fundar Iglesias, y socorrer á sus pobres. El Emperador mandó que se pagassen, por Cédula dada en 7 de Julio de 1549." — Gil Gonzalez Davila, *Teatro Eccles.*, tom. 1, p. 28.

CHAPTER IV.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TOWN OF SANTIAGO IN GUATEMALA — DOMINGO DE BETANZOS COMES TO SANTIAGO AND FOUNDS A DOMINICAN CONVENT THERE — IS OBLIGED TO RETURN TO MEXICO.

B. XV. Ch. 4.

QUITTING the pleasant paths of humanity and civilization, and passing from the gentle labours of monks and bishops to the arid march of conquest, or to the uphill and thorny ways of colonization on which ordinary men follow with new difficulties their usual life of gain and of self-interest, it becomes our duty to return to the affairs of Guatemala.

These were in an indirect way much affected by the journey of Cortes to Honduras. When Pedro de Alvarado heard of that journey, he prepared to go and pay his respects to Cortes, leaving his brother, Gonzalo, as Lieutenant-Governor. The unvaried tradition of the Indians states that the Lieutenant-Governor imposed upon the inhabitants of Patinamit, or Tecpan-Guatemala, a burden that could not be borne. It was that a number of children, boys and girls (one account says 800), should, each of them, bring him daily a reed full of golden grains. The children played about, like

B. XV. Ch. 4.

children, and failed to bring in the required tribute. The extortionate Governor punished, or threatened to punish, the adult population. The Guatemalans rebelled. It was not merely a popular tumult, for Sinacam, King of the Kachiquels, and Sequechul, King of the Quichés, joined in it. The whole country, with the exception of one faithful cacique, was in full and determined revolt. The Spanish inhabitants of Guatemala were for some time in the greatest peril; and it seemed not unlikely that the conquest would have to be made over again.

Revolt in Guatemala. 1526.

Meanwhile, Pedro de Alvarado had not made his journey in time to find Cortes, but had met with Luis Marin and a party of Spanish soldiers (among whom was the historian, Bernal Diaz), who were returning by land from Truxillo to Mexico, after the embarkation of Cortes. Bernal Diaz, in a very summary manner, speaks of some severe engagements which they had with the Guatemalans, and of a futile attempt on the part of Pedro de Alvarado to conclude a peace with the Kings Sequechul and Sinacam. At Olintepeque, Pedro de Alvarado rejoined his brother Gonzalo and the main body of his troops. The Governor, a very different man from Cortes, left Gonzalo to make head against the insurgents, and went on with Luis Marin and his company to Mexico.

Alvarado meets Luis Marin.

Battles with the revolters.

Alvarado goes to Mexico.

The revolt was ultimately quelled by Alvarado and his brothers, at the latter end of the year 1526. The kings, Sinacam and Sequechul, were

Nov. 22, 1526.

made prisoners, and remained in durance many years. The next thing we hear of the restless Governor, is, that he was resolved to go to Spain. He was dissatisfied with the conduct of Cortes towards him, who, he thought, in his dispatches had not sufficiently represented the magnitude of his services to the Spanish Court. B. XV. Ch. 4.

Alvarado wished also to hold his government directly from the Emperor, and not as a dependency from Cortes; and, on reaching the Court of Spain, he took the best means to effect his purpose, by making an advantageous marriage with a lady related to Francisco de los Cobos, the Emperor's Secretary of State. From thence flowed honours and profits to the ambitious Alvarado. He was appointed Governor, Adelantado,* and Alvarado goes to Spain. 1527.

* "Adelantado significa, hombre antepuesto, ó preferido como dizen la diction, y la ley primera de la Partida tercera, en el título 4°. En Aragon son llamados sobre junteros, como si dixessen, sobre las juntas, Presidente de las juntas, ó comunidades. Otra ley veinte y dos, tit. 9, Partida 2ª, dize:

"Adelantado, tanto quiere dezir, como home metido adelante en algun fecho señalado, por mandado de el Rey: y por este razon el que antiguamente era puesto sobre la tierra grande, llamáronlo en Latin *Præses provinciæ*: . . . . En otra ley, secunda, tit. 9, Partida 2ª, es llamado, Adelantado, ó *Præfectus Legionis*, el Capitan General. . . . . Segun esto, el Adelantado en la paz es Presidente, y Justicia mayor de algun Reyno, provincia, ó districto: y en la guerra el Capitan General."—PEDRO SALAZAR DE MENDOZA, *Orígen de las dignidades seglares de Castilla y Leon*, cap. 14, p. 61. Toledo, 1618. See also LORENZO DE SANTAYANA Y BUSTILLO, *Los Magistrados y Tribunales de España*; tom. 1, cap. 4, p. 63. Zaragoza, 1751.

What Las Casas's opinion was of the Adelantados who had been appointed in his time for services in the New World, may be seen from the following words:—

"Entre otras mercedes que se les hacian era communente hacellos Adelantados, y porque se

B. XV. Ch. 4.

Captain-General of Guatemala and its dependencies. He was moreover created a *Comendador** of the Order of Santiago, and succeeded in procuring a confirmation of the *repartimientos* of Indians which he had given to himself.

Meanwhile, his infant town of Santiago had, notwithstanding all the dangers it had undergone, been advancing in its polity, and was becoming the centre of a settled colony. For some time there had been discussion amongst the inhabitants, whether the town should remain where it was, or be changed to some other site. Many things were said for and against the removal; but at last the opinion for staying where they were prevailed. This being the case, it was necessary to give the lands in partition; and from this transaction we learn how such a division was made. They measured out the land, partly into *cavallerias*, the portion of a horse-soldier, which was six hundred feet in length, and three hundred in breadth; and partly in *peonarias*,† the portion of a foot-soldier, which was three hundred feet in length, and one hundred and fifty in breadth; but it appears that these primitive measures were varied according to the quality and merits of each

Division of land at Santiago. 1527.

adelantavan en hacer males, y daños tan gravísimos á gentes pacíficas que ni los habian offendido, ni algo les devian, con los mismos adelantamientos que procuraron, hallaban, y hallaron su muerte, como la gallina escarvando el cuchillo."—Las Casas, *Hist. de las Indias*, lib 3, cap. 117.

* This title he had long enjoyed as a nickname, for wearing an old cloak of his uncle's, who had been a *Comendador;* the mark of the cross on the cloak not being worn out, the soldiers called Alvarado the Comendador.

† From *peon*, a foot-soldier —a pawn.

recipient. The authorities then called upon the persons to whom these lots were apportioned, to dwell in them, and to build upon them. A piece of land was set apart for a hospital, where strangers were to be received; and the Council of the city took great care in making various wise laws with regard to public health and cleanliness. There were also several laws passed for the security of property, and for the protection of the natives. These laws were very strict. Indeed, it may be observed, that in such small communities the laws generally are very strict, and that a great love of law-making arises. It appears, also, that there was to be a hermitage,* or place of humiliation, dedicated to "Our Lady *de los Remedios*," which had been promised from the foundation of the city; but this work was not accomplished until after the return of the Governor. At present—that is, in the year 1528—the new town was sadly deficient in religious instruction, and it had been a care of Pedro de Alvarado to provide a remedy for that defect. Accordingly, when he passed through Mexico on his way to Spain, he had endeavoured to persuade some of the Dominicans to go and settle in his province of Guatemala, especially Father Domingo de Betanzos, who was his confessor. "We do not know," says the chronicler, "what sins Alvarado confessed, but we do know the penance which Father Domingo im-

Laws and regulations.

Alvarado wishes Betanzos to go to Guatemala.

* "Acerca de la hermita, ó humilladero de nuestra Señora de los Remedios que Jorge de Alvarado promete en la fundacion de la ciudad, se halla que sin falta ninguna se hizo."—Remesal, *Hist. de Chiapa y Guatemala*, lib. I. cap. 14.

B. XV. Ch. 4.

posed upon him"—namely, that he should give a damask or velvet altar-covering for the church of Santiago in his town, "which act of penance," adds the chronicler, drily, "Alvarado never performed all the days of his life."

When the great body of Dominicans under Vicente de Santa Maria had reached Mexico, Father Betanzos found himself comparatively at liberty; and, as his vocation was rather missionary than administrative, he was not averse to listen to any renewal of the suggestion, that he should go and found a convent of Dominicans in Guatemala. It was just at that time that Pedro de Alvarado, full of honours and rewards, returned from Spain to Mexico, accompanied by a number of cavaliers and hidalgos, who were to be inhabitants of his new town. All these personages united in requesting Father Domingo to come with them and found a convent in their adopted country, which he was the more inclined to do, well knowing, it is said, that the noise of muskets and arquebusses, and the barking of fierce dogs, had so stunned the Indians as to render them very deaf to the Christian Faith, as it had been hitherto introduced to their notice in the province of Guatemala.* Finally, he consented to go.

* "Porque claramente sabia la poca reformacion de costumbres en los Españoles, y la ninguna Christiandad en los Indios, que aun no se les avia quitado de los oydos para entrar por ellos la predicacion, y la Fé, el ruydo de los arcabuzes, y mosquetes, y ladridos de los perros, con que los años antes los avian conquistado."—REMESAL, *Hist. de Chiapa y Guatemala*, lib. 2, cap. 2.

B. XV. Ch. 4.

Father Domingo quitted Mexico (having received the amplest powers that could be given him by Bishop Zumarraga) at the beginning of the year 1529, and pursued the long journey (four hundred leagues) from Mexico to Guatemala in a very different manner from that which the secular body adopted. He went with one companion, on foot, very often barefooted, eating little, and that only of wild fruits, and sleeping in the open air. This, as we know, was conformable to his previous mode of life, and to the way of travelling which he had adopted in his journey from Salamanca to Rome; but it was also very suitable for the present occasion, as it was always desirable for the monks to mark out, in the clearest manner, the difference between the Spanish soldiers and themselves. Their poverty, their temperance, their simplicity of life, recommended them at once to the Indians, who saw in any one of them a different kind of being from the fierce, steel-clad, money-loving, largely-devouring Spanish soldier. The moderation of Father Domingo was to be seen, not only in his personal habits, but even in the demands which he made for his convent and his Order. When he arrived at Santiago, he would not take so much ground for his church, his convent, and the convent garden as the portion of land allotted to a single horse-soldier.* The ornaments for the church

Father Betanzos sets out for Guatemala. 1529.

Arrives at Santiago de Guatemala.

* "Y el Padre fray Domingo tomó la possession dél algo desuiado de las casas, á la parte del Oriente, con bastante capacidad para Yglesia, casa, y huerta, y todo no llegava á una cavallería de tierra, porque el espíritu del Padre fray Domingo de Betanzos

B. XV. Ch. 4.

were provided by the inhabitants of the town; and the good father maintained himself in popularity with them, notwithstanding he did not fear to insist perpetually upon the claims of the Indians to liberty, a subject which was most offensive to his hearers. It was in vain, however, that Father Domingo preached with fervour against the cruel practices of the Spanish colonists. They held that his doctrines in this matter were no better than private opinions. They fortified themselves with royal *cédulas*, opinions of learned men, and the customs of the country; and, in fine, threw up such entrenchments to defend their position, that, to use the quaint expression of the old chronicler, "there was no theology which could get into them" (*no avia teología que les entrasse*). Soon after the commencement of his ministrations, however, the good father was strengthened by a public document which came very opportunely from the prelate of his order at Mexico, or perhaps directly from Spain, and which distinctly proclaimed the freedom of the Indians, and ordered that they should no longer be given in *encomienda*.* There was, however, one fatal adjunct to this docu-

Preaches in behalf of the Indians.

Royal order in favour of the Indians. 1529.

era muy recogido, y mostróle entonces en no recebir mas suelo de la Ciudad de Santiago, de lo que era menester para una Yglesia pequeña, casa estrecha, y huerta muy moderada."—REMESAL, *Historia de Chiapa y Guatemala*, lib. 2, cap. 4.

* On reference to the chapter on *encomiendas*, it will be seen that this document was the result of the deliberations of a General Council of the Indies and of Finance, which was ordered by the Emperor to address itself to this subject, when he was quitting Spain for Italy, in the year 1529.

ment,—namely, that it was not final; that, to use the phrase of the day, it was by way of instruction, and not by precept (*por via de instruccion, y no por precepto*)—a prudent practice in cases where the home government is at a great distance from the colony, and where the matters to be attended to are of a judicial character; but a mere throwing of the bridle on the neck of the horse, when the matter in question is one where self-interest and cruelty have to be restrained. An exception, it is said, was made as regarded the power of the Governor, or President, to vary any part of these instructions which touched the liberty of the Indians. That part was to be considered final. The idea, however, being once given in any part of the document that it was not an edict, but a body of variable instructions, tended no doubt by degrees to invalidate the whole force of the royal order. Unfortunately for Guatemala, Father Betanzos had not much time to try what aid these instructions might have given to his sermons, for, in fifteen days after receiving it, a messenger came to him from the prelate of his Order in Mexico, summoning him immediately to a Council there, the main object of which was to make their convent independent of the Dominican convent in Hispaniola.

Betanzos recalled to Mexico.

It has been seen how much Father Betanzos held to the virtue of obedience; and, in this case, he did not hesitate to obey his prelate, though it was at the sacrifice of deferring the foundation of his Order in Guatemala. He had but one monk with him, a young man of little experience,

B. XV. Ch. 4.

who could not be left in charge of the convent, even if it had been permitted to break through the rule, then kept most strictly, that no monk should travel without a companion. Nothing remained, therefore, for Father Domingo but to abandon his enterprize for the present. Accordingly he shut up the convent, but left the keys with the curate* of Santiago, that the church might be cleaned from time to time, and thrown open for the sake of those who might feel a desire to go and pray there. As the good father fully intended to send other monks in his place, he begged one of the neighbours to finish making the hedge round the little garden which had already been commenced, while to another neighbour he gave the charge of building, out of a heap of unburnt bricks (*adobes*) that had been collected, some small cells for the brethren who were hereafter to be sent.

Betanzos quits Guatemala, January, 1530.

Having given these commissions, he took his departure from Santiago, to the great grief, it is said, of all the inhabitants; and in after days the monkish historians, when recording the life of this remarkable man, were wont to speak of the sweet odour of sanctity which was left by Father Domingo in his brief visit to Guatemala. On his way back he met the Governor, Alvarado, coming with much pomp and with his numerous retinue to Guatemala, affording thus a curious contrast to the

* In the Spanish Church the curate is the chief parochial clergyman.

two barefooted monks. Knowing what manner of man Alvarado was, the thought that naturally occurs to us is, whether the departure of Betanzos, or the arrival of Alvarado, was likely to be of most injury to the unfortunate Indians in Central America.

CHAPTER V.

REAPPEARANCE OF LAS CASAS—HIS MISSION TO PERU — HIS STAY IN NICARAGUA — DISPUTES WITH THE GOVERNOR—COMES TO GUATEMALA, AND OCCUPIES THE CONVENT THAT HAD BEEN FOUNDED BY DOMINGO DE BETANZOS—ALVARADO'S EXPEDITION TO PERU—LAS CASAS AND HIS BRETHREN STUDY THE UTLATECAN LANGUAGE.

B. XV. Ch. 5.

IT is probable that the thoughts of many a humane man at this period were occasionally turned to the cell in the Dominican monastery of Hispaniola, where the great Protector of the Indians was buried, as it were, after the failure of his memorable attempt to found a Christian colony on the coast of Cumaná. It was in the year 1522 that Las Casas, sunk in dejection and despair, had been persuaded by Father Domingo de Betanzos, to take the monastic vows. Eight years had elapsed from the time of Las Casas becoming a monk, to the time when Father Betanzos quitted his newly built monastery at Guatemala, as recorded in the last chapter. In these eight years, during the greater part of which Las Casas had lived a life of extreme seclusion, the bounds of the Indian empire had been immensely enlarged. Cortes had

Las Casas became a monk, 1522.

Betanzos quitted the monastery at Guatemala, 1530.

completed his conquest of New Spain, Alvarado had conquered Guatemala, Pizarro had commenced the conquest of Peru, and the captains or the rivals of Pedrarias, exceeding all other Spaniards in cruelty, had devastated the fertile regions of Nicaragua.* Las Casas must have heard about all these transactions, and we can well imagine what he must have thought of them. For five years of his life—namely, from 1522 to 1527, there is but one fact known about him; but that one is very significant. It is that he was not allowed to preach: doubtless, because the monastery wished to stand well with the town, and feared to allow Las Casas to enter the pulpit, knowing what terrible truths he would utter. We learn this fact in a very curious and authentic manner, from a witness in a legal process which, in after days, was instituted against Las Casas by the Governor of Nicaragua. The witness says, that, having remained in San Domingo two years, he does not know that in the whole of that time brother Bartholomew preached; and the witness further deposes, that the Auditors of San Domingo had charged Las Casas not to preach.† It may be doubted, however, whether any secular command would have been sufficient to restrain him.

What had happened in the Indies while Las Casas was in his monastery.

* See Las Casas, *Brevíssima Relacion de la destruycion de las Indias, "De la Provincia de Nicaragua,"* p. 14.

† "Vicio añejo por el cual cuando estuvo en Santo Domingo de la Española los oidores le mandaron no predicase, y le habian querido echar de la isla para España. De resulta desto que habiendo permanecido en Santo Domingo dos años el testigo que lo depone, no supo que en todo aquel tiempo

B. XV. Ch. 5.

In 1527, it is said, he commenced his history,* the most valuable groundwork for the history of America that exists.

The exact time and the particular cause of the re-entrance of Las Casas into the world are both very doubtful. The rebellion, before mentioned, of the Indians in Hispaniola, under the Cacique Enrique, is supposed to have engaged his attention; and it is stated that he was sent to negotiate with the revolted Cacique. He is also said, upon some grounds, as it appears to me, to have gone to the Court of Spain in the year 1530. Moreover, it is alleged that, shortly before the second expedition of Pizarro to Peru, Las Casas, foreseeing the evils of that expedition, procured a royal decree, ordering that Pizarro and Almagro should abstain from making slaves of the Indians; and it is further stated that Las Casas himself travelled to Peru, and delivered this order into the hands of these captains.†

Occupations of Las Casas from 1529 to 1536.

predicase fray Bartolomé." — QUINTANA, *Vidas de Españoles Célebres. Apéndices á la vida de Las Casas*, Núm. 10.

* I have before (vol. 2, p. 214, note) thrown doubts upon this statement; but I am content to take the evidence of REMESAL, referring as it does to Las Casas himself:—"Lo que no la (duda) tiene, porque el mismo lo afirma, es, que el año de 1527, començó á escrivir la historia general de las Indias, coligida de los escritos mas ciertos y verdaderos de aquel tiempo, particularmente de los originales del Almirante don Christoval Colon." —REMESAL, *Hist. de Chiapa y Guatemala*, lib. 3, cap. 1.

† QUINTANA rejects all this part of the narrative, and, as Las Casas in his account of Peru never mentions himself as an eye-witness, I was at first inclined to reject it also. But, observing that, in his account of Nicaragua, where he certainly had been, and where the law-suit before alluded to was brought against him, he never makes the least allusion to himself, I am not inclined to pronounce hastily upon these circumstances, more

B. XV. Ch. 5.

There are few lives in which the main events, and the circumstances on which they depended, are clearer than in that of Las Casas. But, at this period of his life, from his entrance into the Dominican monastery in Hispaniola until his occupation of the Dominican monastery of Santiago in Guatemala, founded by Betanzos, there is great confusion and incertitude. If we abide by the account of his principal biographer, REMESAL, the following is the order of events:—

Las Casas having, by his presence at Court, obtained the decree in favour of the natives of Peru, returned to Hispaniola. Immediately after his return, a provincial Chapter of the Dominican Order was held in that island, and upon that occasion a Prior was appointed for the Dominican convent at Mexico,—the "Province," as it was called, of Mexico being dependent upon that of Hispaniola. That Prior, Francisco de San Miguel, took Las Casas with him, intending to give him companions for passing on to Peru, not only to notify the royal decree, but to found convents in the newly-discovered country.* Thus it was that Las Casas came to Mexico. The as-

How Las Casas came to Mexico.

especially as Remesal speaks of a letter written by the Bishop of Guatemala, which seems to allude to the circumstance of Las Casas passing through the town of Santiago on his way to Peru.

* "Traxo consigo al padre fray Bartolomé de las Casas, con intento de darle compañeros en la Nueva España para que passasse al Perú, no solo á notificar la cédula Real tocante á la libertad de los Indios, sino para poner juntamente en execucion cierta facultad que llevava para fundar conventos de la Órden en aquellas Provincias á la sazon sugetas á la Provincia de Santa Cruz: porque ya el padre fray Reginaldo de Peraza tenia allá Religiosos conque esto se pudiesse hazer." —REMESAL, *Hist. de Chiapa y Guatemala*, lib. 3, cap. 3.

B. XV. Ch. 5.

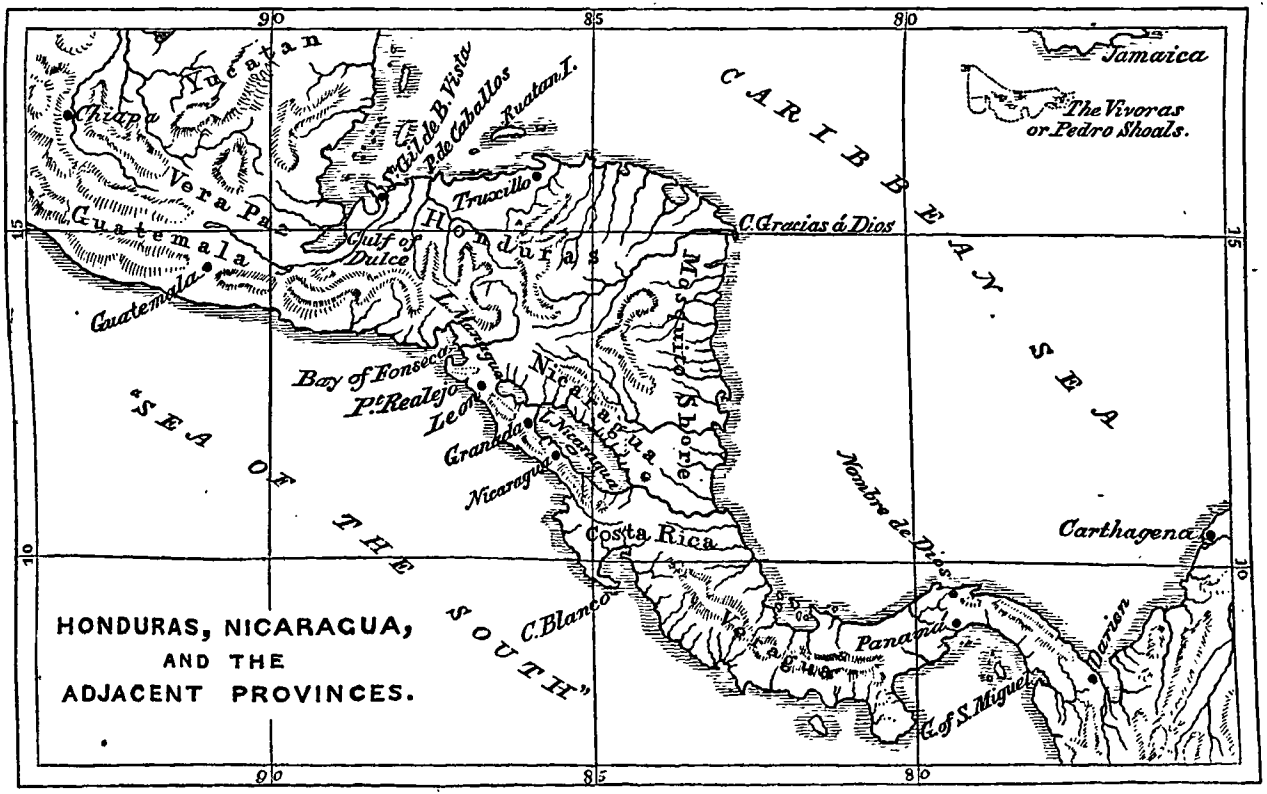
sumption of prelatical authority on the part of the convent at Hispaniola was the cause of great trouble to the Dominican brethren in New Spain. We have already seen how Domingo de Betanzos was suddenly summoned to attend a Chapter, or meeting, of his Order in Mexico; and the cause of his being sent for was no other than the arrival, or the rumour of the arrival, of the new Prior. REMESAL states that Las Casas helped to allay the differences which arose on this occasion amongst the brethren; and then commenced his mission to Peru, accompanied by two Dominicans, who afterwards became celebrated men,—Bernardino de Minaya and Pedro de Angulo.

Las Casas attends a Chapter in Mexico.

Goes to Nicaragua, 1531.

It was at the beginning of the year 1531 that Las Casas set out from Mexico with his companions, and traversing New Spain and Guatemala, came to Nicaragua, in which province they took ship at the port of Realejo. There the good fathers were fortunate enough to find a vessel*

* That Las Casas commenced a voyage to Peru is clear from the following passage in his *Historia Apologética*. He is speaking of tears being occasionally a mode of expressing joy.—"*Yo vide un plático soldado muy solemne taur y que segun presumimos iba con otros muchos á robar los Indios á los Reynos del Perú; handando que handabamos perdidos por la mar acordámos de hechar suertes sobre que camino tomariamos, ó para ir al Perú, donde él y los demas iban, por que bullia el oro allí, enderezados, sino que nos era el tiempo contrario, ó á la Provincia de Nicaragua, donde no habia oro, pero podiamos mas presto y matar la ambre allí á llegar: y por que salió la suerte que prosiguiesemos el camino del Perú, recibió tanta y tan veemente alegría que comenzo á llorar y derramar tantas lágrimas como una muy devota vieja ó veata, y dijo: por cierto no me parece sino que tengo tanto consuelo como si agora acabara de comulgar; y otra cosa no hacia en todo el dia sino jugar á los naipes y tan desenfrenadamente*


HONDURAS, NICARAGUA,
AND THE
ADJACENT PROVINCES.
CARIBBEAN SEA
"SEA OF THE SOUTH"
Yucatan
Chiapa
Vera Paz
Guatemala
Guatemala
Gulf of Dulce
Bay of Fonseca
P.t Realejo
Leon
Granada
Nicaragua
Nicaragua L.
Costa Rica
C. Blanco
Truxillo
C. Gracias á Dios
Honduras
Mosquito Shore
Nombre de Dios
Panama
G. of S. Miguel
Darien
Carthagena
Jamaica
The Vivoras
or Pedro Shoals.
90
85
80
15
10

B. XV. Ch. 5.

which was going with men and provisions to Pizarro. They availed themselves of this means of transport, and notified the decree to the Spanish captains in Peru; but finding that the state of the country did not then admit of the founding of monasteries, they returned to Panama, and from thence went to Realejo, which port they reached in February or March of the year 1532.

Returns to Realejo, March, 1532.

A bishop, Diego Alvarez Osorio, had just been nominated* by the Emperor for Nicaragua, who was also endowed with the office of Protector of the Indians. The Bishop, naturally enough, saw in this advent of the good fathers from Peru an excellent opportunity for founding a Dominican convent in Leon, the chief Spanish town of Nicaragua, and he begged them to stay with

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como los otros. Los que allí veniamos que deseabamos salir de allí donde quiera que la mar nos hechara, vista la causa de sus lágrimas reíamonos de su gran consuelo y devocion."—Las Casas, *Historia Apologética*, MS., cap. 180.

* Quintana, following Herrera, makes Osorio a bishop in 1527, which is incorrect: he was appointed in 1531. "Erigióse este Obispado en la Ciudad de Leon de Nicaragua por el sumo Pontífice Clemente Séptimo á peticion de la Magestad Cathólica á veinte, y seis de Febrero de mil quinientos treinta y uno, cuyo primer Obispo fué el Doctor Don Diego Álvarez Osorio, como consta en quel Acto."—*Fr.* Joseph Torrubia. *Chrónica de la Seráphica Religion del Glorioso Patriarcha San Francisco de Assis.* Roma, 1756. Appendix, p. 12.

Torrubia's work is to be found in Mr. Stirling's library.

The above mistake in an important date may have much misled Quintana at this part of the narrative. These are his words:—"En las escasas noticias que se tienen de los trabajos de Casas en los primeros años de sus predicaciones, solo vemos que hácia el de 1527 fué enviado á Nicaragua, donde se acababa de fundar un obispado, á ayudar á su primer prelado Diego Álvarez Osorio en la predicacion del evangelio y conversion de los indios."—Quintana, *Vidas de Españolos Célebres; Fr. Bartolomé de las Casas*, p. 171.

him. They consented, and began to learn the language of the country, with the exception of Pedro de Angulo, who already knew Mexican well, and was therefore able at once to catechize the Indians, and to teach them the Christian Faith.*

* The foregoing details depend solely, or mainly, upon the authority of REMESAL. They are liable to objections of considerable weight, which have, for the most part, been well stated by QUINTANA, the excellent modern biographer of Las Casas. On one point I am bound to confirm Quintana, namely, that in the account which LAS CASAS himself gives of the insurrection of Enrique (see chapters 124, 5, and 6, lib. 3, of his History), he does not assign to himself any such part as that given to him by Remesal. He, however, promises to give further information in the next book, which he did not live to write. But still, what he has told us is by no means in accordance with Remesal.

With regard to the rest of the story, I do not feel at all disposed to throw over the authority of Remesal. He was the first historian who investigated these circumstances. He had access to the archives of Guatemala early in the seventeenth century, and he is one of those excellent writers, so dear to the students of history, who is not prone to declamation, or rhetoric, or picturesque writing, but indulges us largely by the introduction everywhere of most important historical documents, copied boldly into the text. I subjoin the account of him given by JUARROS.—"El III. es el P. Presentado Fr. Antonio Remesal, natural de la Villa de Allariz, en Galicia, hijo del Convento de Salamanca, donde profesó el año de 1593. Vino á esta Ciudad el año de 1613, y admirado de la Religiosidad, y puntualísima observancia del Convento de Sto. Domingo, y de toda la Provincia de S. Vicente, determinó hacer apuntes de las actas de los Capítulos, por donde se gobierna la referida Provincia. Con este intento comenzó á registrar papeles, y habiendo el Sr. Presidente franqueádole los archivos, se halló con suficiente material, para haer una prolixa historia de la Provincia de S. Vicente, de Chiapa y Guatemala: dando tambien noticia de los principios de las otras Provincias, que tiene su órden en las Indias Occidentales; y de la fundacion de las principales Ciudades de este Reyno. Partióse de esta Metrópoli el Presentado Remesal el año de 1616, y habiendo concluido su obra en la Provincia de Oaxaca, pasó á México, donde logró su historia la aprobacion del M. R. P. Fr. Juan de Torquemada, célebre historiador del órden de San Francisco. Despues se encaminó para la Corte de Madrid, y la

B. XV. Ch. 5.

We are now, happily, on the firm ground of history, when we bring Las Casas into Nicaragua; though we must not suppose that he remained stationary there for any long period. In 1534, he undertook a second voyage to Peru, but was driven back by a storm, and did not renew the enterprize. Herrera makes him go to Spain, and, though he gives a wrong date (1536) for this, yet the main statement may be true. The principal biographer of Las Casas (Remesal) makes him go in 1533 to the island of Hispaniola; and if this should be a true account (as it seems, from certain circumstances that are mentioned, a probable one), it was then also that Las Casas may have interfered more potently in the affairs of the revolted Cacique, Enrique, than is generally admitted by secular writers. There is no doubt, however, that whilst at Nicaragua, Las Casas organized a formidable opposition to the Governor, Rodrigo de Contreras,* whom he prevented from undertaking one of those expeditions into the interior† which were always most injurious to the native Indians.

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imprimió el año de 1619."—JUARROS, *Compendio de la Historia de la Ciudad de Guatemala*, tom. 1, tratado 3, cap. 4.

The most startling fact in opposition to Remesal, brought forward by QUINTANA, is that he himself had seen a letter written by Las Casas, and dated Hispaniola, 1531, which does not allude to any of the facts as stated in the text. This merely negative evidence would not go for much; but the date of the letter is in itself a great difficulty to get over. Future researches and discoveries will clear up many dubious points in this part of the history.

* This governor was appointed in 1534. See HERRERA, *Hist. de las Indias*, dec. 6, lib. 1, cap. 8.

† "Rodrigo de Contreras, á

Las Casas had great reason for opposing any such expedition in this country, as we learn from him that the most outrageous atrocities against the Indians had already taken place in this province.* He mentions that it had been known to happen that, when a body of four thousand Indians accompanied an expedition to carry

instancia de los de Nicaragua, trató luego de embiar á descubrir el Desaguadero de la Laguna, porque la Gente de aquella Provincia juzgaba que se devia de enriquecer en la conquista de los Pueblos de aquella Ribera, que eran muchos; í hallándose allí el Padre Frai Bartolomé de las Casas, que desde México (con sabiduría, í permision del Rei) havia ido con fin de convertir aquellas Gentes con sola su predicacion, se opuso á este descubrimiento, í protestaba á los Soldados en los Sermones, en las Confesiones, í en otras partes, *que no iban con sana conciencia á entender en tal descubrimiento*, de que se sentia mucho Rodrigo de Contreras, diciendo, *que el Padre Casas le amotinaba la Gente, porque los de mas temerosa conciencia seguian la opinion del Padre, í no querian obedecer en esto al Governador.*" —HERRERA, *Hist. de las Indias*, dec. 6, lib. 1, cap. 8.

* LAS CASAS is singularly confirmed by his old opponent OVIEDO, who, wishing to reprove the exaggeration of those who had reported that there was an Indian city in Nicaragua three leagues in extent, admits, however, the beauty of the place and its rapid desolation:—"Pero aquestas de Managua estaban como soga al luengo de la laguna, é no en tres leguas ni una; pero avia en su prosperidad diez mill indios de arco é flechas é quarenta mill ánimas, y era la mas hermosa plaça de todas, y estaba ya la mas despoblada é asolada que avia en aquella gobernaçion, quando yo la ví, que fué poco mas de tres años despues de aquella carta é sermones. Esta poblaçion de Managua está ocho leguas de Leon.

"Avia en Matinari quatro mill ánimas, en que eran los seysçientos de arcos é flechas: en Matiari avia mill flecheros, que eran mas de doçe mill ánimas, y en aquel caçique de Itipitapa avia tres mill é quinientas ánimas, y eran en ellos ochoçientos archeros. De la otra parte del caçique de Itipitapa, en la otra costa de la laguna en seys leguas, avia bien seys mill ánimas é ochoçientos archeros. En fin, porque en esto no nos cansemos, digo que en el tiempo quel capitan Gil Gonçalez fué á aquella tierra, é despues dél el capitan Françisco Fernandez, teniente de Pedrarias, parescia que hervia de gente aquella tierra, segund yo lo supe en ella de los que lo vieron."—OVIEDO, *Hist. Gen. y Nat. de Indias*, lib. 42, cap. 5.

B. XV. Ch. 5.

burdens, only six of them returned alive. He likewise describes how when an Indian was sick with weariness and hunger, and unable to proceed, as a quick way of getting the chain free from the Indian, his head was cut off, and so he was disengaged from the gang in which he travelled. "Imagine," he says, "what the others must have felt." *

Atrocities in Nicaragua denounced by Las Casas.

The Bishop of Nicaragua, who endeavoured to make peace between Las Casas and the Governor, died; and their feud, consequently, raged more violently than before.

1536.

In passing through Guatemala on his way by land to Realejo, in his first attempt to reach Peru, Las Casas must have observed the deserted Dominican monastery in Guatemala; and, in all probability, he rested in one of its cells. He must also have made acquaintance with the Curate of the town, Francisco de Marroquin. Marroquin had since become a bishop,† and it seems certain that he now invited brother Bartholomew to come from Nicaragua to Guatemala. Las Casas probably finding that he could not resist the

* "Y acaeció vez de muchas que esto hizo, que de quatro mil Indios, no bolvieron seys vivos á sus casas, que todos los dexavan muertos por los caminos. É quando algunos cansavan, y se despeavan de las grandes cargas, y enfermavan de hambre, é trabajo, y flaqueza; por no desensartarlos de las cadenas les cortavan por la collera la cabeça, é caya la cabeça á un cabo, y el cuerpo á otro. Véase que sentirian los otros."—Las Casas, *Brevíssima Relacion de la Destruycion de las Indias*, p. 15. I do not know what governor or captain it was who authorized these cruelties. It was not Contreras, whose appointment was recent.

† Francisco Marroquin was nominated Bishop of Guatemala by the Emperor in 1533, and his appointment was confirmed by Pope Paul the Third in 1534.

Governor of Nicaragua, abandoned the convent* there, and, accompanied by his brethren, proceeded to Guatemala and took up his abode in the convent which Domingo de Betanzos had built, and which had remained vacant for six years.

Las Casas comes to Guatemala, and occupies the convent. 1536.

It will be necessary now, to give a short review of the principal events which had occurred in Guatemala between the departure of Domingo de Betanzos and the arrival of Las Casas and his brethren to occupy the deserted monastery.

Alvarado, one of the most restless even of those restless men—the conquerors of the New World—had been devoting his energies to fitting out a fleet for the purpose of further discoveries. This fleet was built at a port called Iztapa, situated about seventeen leagues from the present city of Guatemala. When Alvarado was at the Court of Spain, he had held out hopes of making further discoveries. But the great news of Pizarro's golden success reaching the greedy ears of the rapacious Governor of Guatemala, he resolved to proceed southwards, and to join Pizarro in his enterprize. He was the more readily induced to do this, as he knew that Pizarro was but poorly equipped. It was in vain that the King's Officers at Guatemala protested stoutly against Alvarado's expedition to Peru. They said that he would leave his own colony bare, and that it would, therefore, be in great peril,

Alvarado resolves to join Pizarro in Peru.

The King's Officers protest against the enterprize.

* This desertion of the convent gave occasion to the law proceedings before referred to.

B. XV. Ch. 5.

because a large part of it was in a state of war; and that even the subdued Indians, seeing themselves freed from the yoke of armed men, would rise in revolt. Moreover, they added, with a shrewd insight into the future, that the Lieutenant-Governor whom Alvarado was leaving would be continually obliged to be sending men and horses to assist his master; and, consequently, that the armed force of the country would, day by day, be growing weaker.* To these sound arguments Alvarado replied that the government of Guatemala was a small matter for him, and that he wished to go and seek another greater one. With regard to the question of danger, he said that he intended to take with him the principal Indians, and so leave the province secure for the Spaniards.

The King's Officers persevered in their remonstrances, and wrote both to the King, and to the *Audiencia* of Mexico. The *Audiencia* agreed with the King's Officers of Guatemala, and wrote to Alvarado, forbidding the enterprize. He was not, however, to be daunted by their endeavours

Alvarado goes to Peru.

* "Escrivian tambien, reprobando la Jornada de Pedro de Alvarado al Perú, encareciendo los inconvenientes, que se havian de seguir, si entraba en los límites de Don Francisco Piçarro, especialmente si sacaba, como lo tenia determinado, la maior parte de los Soldados de la Provincia de Guatemala, las Armas, í los Caballos, í muchos Naturales, con que aquella Provincia quedaria en gran peligro, porque mucha parte de ella estaba de Guerra; aliende de que los Indios pacíficos, viéndose sin el jugo de los Soldados, se levantarian, por ser belicosos, í mudables; í que demás de esto, el Teniente, que Pedro de Alvarado dexaba, siempre le havia de ir acudiendo con Gente, í Caballos, con que la fuerça de la Tierra cada dia mas se iria enflaqueciendo."—HERRERA, *Hist. de las Indias*, dec. 4, lib. 10, cap. 15.

to restrain him, and he persevered in taking his departure for Peru.

The result of this expedition will be narrated in its proper place,—the history of Peru. It was disastrous, although Alvarado himself did not suffer much, as he received an ample sum for the forces which he made over to Pizarro. Alvarado returned to Guatemala at the end of the year 1535, not long before Las Casas with his Dominican monks established themselves in the monastery at Santiago de Guatemala.

Returns to Guatemala. 1535.

The Dominican brethren who accompanied Las Casas, and all of whom afterwards became celebrated men, were Luis Cancer, Pedro de Angulo, and Rodrigo de Ladrada. These grave and reverend monks might any time in the year 1537 have been found sitting in a little class round the Bishop of Guatemala, an elegant scholar, but whose scholarship was now solely employed to express Christian doctrines in the Utlatecan language, commonly called Quiché. As the chronicler says, "It was a delight to see the Bishop, as a master of declensions and conjugations in the Indian tongue, teaching the good fathers of St. Dominic." This prelate afterwards published a work in Utlatecan, in the prologue of which he justly says, "It may, perchance, appear to some people a contemptible thing that prelates should be thus engaged in trifling things solely fitted for the teaching of children; but, if the matter be well looked into, it is a baser thing not to abase one's self to these apparent trifles, for such teaching is the 'marrow'

Las Casas and his brethren study the Quiché language.

B. XV. Ch. 5.

of our Holy Faith."* The Bishop was quite right. It will soon be seen what an important end this study of the language led to; and, I doubt not—indeed, it might almost be proved—that there are territories, neighbouring to Guatemala, which would have been desert and barren as the sands of the sea but for the knowledge of the Utlatecan language acquired by these good fathers,—an acquisition, too, it must be recollected, not easy or welcome to men of their age† and their habits.

* "Por ventura parecerá á alguno cosa digna de menosprecio que los Prelados (los quales por la altura de su dignidad suelen estar ocupados en negocios graves, y de importancia) se ocupen en cosas baxas, y que solamente son coaptadas para la informacion de los niños, aunque, si bien se mira, mas suez y baxa cosa es, no abaxarse á las cosas semejantes, ó por mejor dezir, levantarse, pues que es el tal enseñamiento la medula de nuestra Santa Fé Católica, y de nuestra sagrada Religion."—REMESAL, *Hist. de Chiapa y Guatemala*, lib. 3, cap. 7.

† No contemporary, and indeed no subsequent writer, ever speaks of Las Casas as old. He was forty-eight years of age, however, when he entered the Dominican monastery in Hispaniola. He was now in the prime of life for a man of his wonderful powers; that is, he was sixty-two. Fourteen years afterwards, in 1550, when he was seventy-six years old, his greatest public disputation took place, with the celebrated Doctor Sepulveda. In the year 1556, when he was eighty-two years old, we are informed that he was vigorous in his self-appointed work of Protector of the Indians ("*En el de* 1556, *exercitó grandemente el señor don fray Bartolomé de las Casas, su oficio de padre y protector de los Indios.*"—REMESAL, lib. 10, cap. 24); and he attained the great age of ninety-two, having just completed successfully an arduous business for the colony of Guatemala, which he had come from Valladolid to Madrid to transact.

CHAPTER VI.

LAS CASAS AND HIS MONKS OFFER TO CONQUER "THE LAND OF WAR"—THEY MAKE THEIR PREPARATIONS FOR THE ENTERPRIZE.

IT is not often that in any part of the world mere literature has been more fertile in distinct historical results than in this province of Guatemala, and indeed throughout the Indies generally. It happened that a little before the year 1535, Las Casas had composed a treatise, which, though it was never printed, made a great noise at the time. It was entitled *De unico vocationis modo.* It was written in Latin, but was translated into Spanish, and so became current, not only amongst the monks and learned men, but also amongst the common soldiers and colonists. It consisted of two propositions. The first was, that men were to be brought to Christianity by persuasion; and the second, which seems but a consequence of the first, that without special injury received on the part of the Christians, it was not lawful for them to carry on war against infidels, merely as infidels. The treatise, though requiring in parts to be passed quickly over, would, if we may judge by other works of the same author, be interesting even now, and having close reference to the daily affairs of life in the

The treatise *De unico vocationis modo.*

B. XV. Ch. 6.

Indies, must at the time it was written have been read with eager and angry attention by the Spanish colonists possessing Indian slaves, whom they had won by their bows and their spears. To gain these slaves, they had toiled and bled. During long and harassing marches they had been alternately frozen, parched, and starved; sufferings only to be compensated for, and poorly compensated, by the large droves of captives which they had brought in triumph back with them. We may imagine the indignant manner in which these fierce veterans read what parts they could or would read of this wise and gentle treatise, *De unico vocationis modo*, written by the great Protector of the Indians, who had now indeed emerged to some purpose from his quiet cell in the Dominican monastery.*

The colonists of Guatemala deride Las Casas.

But the conquerors were not only indignant at the doctrines propounded in this treatise of Las Casas: they laughed at his theories—that mocking laugh of the so-called practical men,—a kind of laugh well known to all those who have attempted to do any new and good thing. "Try it," they said; "try with words only and sacred

* The following is an eloquent description of the evils of war, which occurs in this treatise, and is quoted by REMESAL:—"Mæret domus metu, luctu, et quærimoniis; lamentis complentur omnia. Fugiunt artes opificum. Pauperibus, aut ad jejunandum aut ad impias confugiendum est artes. Divites aut ereptas deplorant facultates, aut timent relictis, utroque modo miserrimi. Virgines, aut nullæ aut tristes, et funestæ nuptiæ. Desolatæ matronæ domi sterilescunt. Silent leges, ridetur humanitas, nullum habet locum æquitas. Religio ludibrio est, sacri et profani nullum omnino discrimen."—REMESAL, *Hist. de Chiapa y Guatemala*, lib. 3, cap. 9.

exhortations to bring the Indians to the true faith;" and Las Casas, who never said the thing he did not mean to abide by, took them at their word, and said he would try it.

Now there was a neighbouring province called Tuzulutlan, which, amongst the Spanish inhabitants of Guatemala, had the ill name of the *Tierra de Guerra*, "The Land of War." This

The Tierra de Guerra.

GUATEMALA AND TUZULUTLAN.

district was a terror to them; and the people in it were a "phantom of terror" to the Spaniards. Thrice they had attempted to penetrate this land; thrice they had returned defeated, with their hands up to their heads (*las manos en la cabeça*). Such is the statement of REMESAL.

B. XV. Ch. 6.

Tuzulutlan not an untried country.

The land, therefore, was much more difficult to penetrate than if no Spaniard had ever been there, being an irritated country, not merely an untried one. With all our knowledge hitherto acquired of Las Casas, we cannot but feel timid and apprehensive as to the result of this bold undertaking of his. We are not left in doubt as to the magnitude of the enterprize. The story is no monkish narrative to magnify the merits of the writer's Order. There was a formal compact entered into by the temporary Governor of Guatemala with Las Casas, as Vicar of the Convent of San Domingo, in which it is admitted that the Indians in question were fierce men in revolt, whom no Spaniard dared to go near.* Their country, too, was a most difficult one to conquer, where the ways were obstructed by mountains, intersected by rivers, and lost amidst dense forests.†

Agreement between Las Casas and the Governor, *ad interim*, of Guatemala.

May, 1537.

The substance of the agreement is, that if Las Casas, or any of his monks, can bring these Indians into conditions of peace, so that they should recognize the Spanish Monarch for their lord paramount, and pay him any moderate tribute, he, the Governor, would place all those provinces under His Majesty in chief (*en cabeça de su Magestad*), and would not give them to any private Spaniard in *encomienda*.‡ Moreover,

* "Ningun Español ose yr por donde ellos estan."—REMESAL, *Hist. de Chiapa y Guatemala*, lib. 3, cap. 9.

† GIL GONZALEZ DAVILA, *Teatro Ecclesiástico*, tom. 1, p. 169.

‡ As this is one of the most curious historical documents that can be met with, equally creditable to the governing powers at Guatemala and to the Dominicans, and as REMESAL'S History is a rare book, I subjoin

B. XV. Ch. 6.

no Spaniard, under heavy penalties, except the Governor himself in person, should be allowed for five years to enter into that territory. This agreement bears date the 2nd of May, 1537, and was signed by Alonzo Maldonado, the temporary Governor of Guatemala.

Las Casas would hardly have been able to persuade the ruthless soldier, Pedro de Alvarado, to sign any such contract as the foregoing. It was, therefore, a singular felicity for the enterprize in hand, that Alvarado was at that time absent from the province, and powerless in it. The cause of his absence is narrated as follows.

Charles V. indignant with Alvarado.

Charles V. was exceedingly indignant when he heard of Alvarado's entrance into Peru. That Commander had engaged to fit out an expedition to the Spice Islands. His absence on this account would have been excusable, and even commendable, in the eyes of the Spanish Court: but Alvarado's

the following extract:—"Porende digo y os prometo y doy mi palabra en nombre y de parte de su Magestad, por los poderes Reales que tengo, que asegurando vos, ó qualquiera de vos los Religiosos que al presente éstays, que soys el Padre fray Bartolomé de Las Casas, y fray Rodrigo de la Drada, y fr. Pedro de Ángulo, y trayendo con vuestra industria y cuydado qualesquier Provincias, é Indios dellas, todas, ó su parte que entren dentro de los límites desta mi Governacion que por su Magestad tengo, á que esten de paz, é que reconazcan por señor á su Magestad, y le sirvan. con los tributos moderados que segun la facultad de sus personas, é pobre hazienda que tienen, puedan buenamente dar, en oro, si en la misma tierra lo oviere, ó en algodon, ó maiz, ó en otra qualquiera cosa que tuvieren, ó ellos entre si grangearen, y acostumbraren a contratar. Que yo desde aquí por los poderes que de su Magestad tengo y en su Real nombre, los pongo todos los que asegurare-des, y todas las Provincias dellos en cabeça de su Magestad, para que le sirvan como sus vasallos, y que no los daré á persona ninguna, ni á ningun Español serán encomendados agora, ni en ningun tiempo."—REMESAL, *Hist. de Chiapa y Guatemala*, lib. 3, cap. 9.

B. XV. Ch. 6.

expedition to Perú was a mere intrusion, which the Emperor resolved to punish. He accordingly sent to the Government of Panamá (of which Peru was at first considered a dependency), ordering that means should be taken for breaking up Alvarado's armament, and that he himself should, in a discreet manner, be made prisoner. The Adelantado's movements were far too rapid for this order to have any effect. He had already returned to Guatemala, which was under the jurisdiction of the authorities of Mexico; and, in the year 1536, was awaiting the arrival of Alonzo de Maldonado, one of the auditors of Mexico, who was to take his *residencia*, and was, it is said, authorized to send him as a prisoner to Spain. It is probable that in such an important proceeding the *Audiencia* was acting in concert with, and receiving orders from, the Council of the Indies at home.

Alvarado awaiting a *residencia*. 1536.

State of affairs in Honduras.

It happened that just at this period the affairs of Honduras were in a most perilous position. The Governor there, a man named Cereceda, had, as HERRERA declares, "exceeded in cruelty all the bounds of human prudence;" the King's Officers were at variance with him; the Indians were in revolt; the Spanish settlers in a state of insubordination. Upon this, the treasurer, Diego de Celis, went from Naco to Guatemala, to implore Alvarado, for the sake of the King's affairs, to come and take the government of Honduras. Nothing could have been more welcome to Alvarado than this invitation. It furnished him with a good excuse for evading his *residencia*, and

Alvarado invited to take the government.

escaping the degradation, which was imminent, of being sent as a prisoner to Spain. It gave him an opportunity of doing such good service as might, at Court, efface the memory of his former misdeeds. He therefore embraced the offer of De Celis; and, after some preparation, went to Honduras, where, in his rough way, he composed the disorders of the Government, founded one or two towns, and, leaving a lieutenant in command, took his departure from the port of Truxillo for Spain. He wisely thought that it would be better for him to anticipate some of the charges that would be made against him; and that, by his winning presence, he might obtain the Emperor's forgiveness, and be restored to power. Alvarado was not deceived in his expectations; and, after some stay in Spain, he did return to his former government with renewed, and even with increased power. The ground, however, was for the moment clear for any experiment of humanity that might be tried in Guatemala.

It will not be inappropriate, just at this point of the narrative, to show how careless Alvarado had been in giving away *encomiendas*. A rival Governor, writing to the Emperor from a town in Honduras, says, "the Adelantado Don Pedro de Alvarado gave away lands which he had neither seen nor brought into submission. In this town he made one hundred and ten *repartimientos*, which were after this fashion:—he gave to one man a province, but all the towns and settlements in it to other people. Sometimes he gave a town under three or four

B. XV. Ch. 6.

Alvarado's expedition.

different names to three or four different persons; and there were people to whom he gave rocks and mountains and rivers in *repartimiento*."* Now, it must be admitted, that ill-regulated tyranny is the worst of tyrannies; and that the distribution of lands and their inhabitants in this fashion by these very rude geographers, the early conquerors (lands, too, as yet unconquered), was sure to lead to the utmost confusion, cruelty, and disappointment. The accuracy of our Norman *Doomsday-Book* was a protection to the conquered as well as a satisfaction to the conquerors.

On one side, therefore, there was for the Indians of Tuzulutlan the fate, that sooner or later would befal them, of being conquered by Alvarado or some of his captains, and given away in his spendthrift fashion, like a gamester's gains; on the other, the chance of being converted to Christianity without the usual mode of bloodshed, and of acquiring peaceful arts from wise and learned men. But who knows his friends? And, moreover, friendly things and people often come in such a guise, and with such accompaniments, that they can hardly be recognized by any but the most discerning eyes. Nor is it always that friends have the tact to present themselves as friends, thinking that the mere intention of

Tuzulutlan.

* "Daba á uno una provincia, í repartia todos los pueblos í estancias dellos á otros; í á otro daba un pueblo por tres ó quatro nombres á tres í á quatro personas, é á otros daba peñas í sierras í rios por repartimientos." —*A* SU MAGESTAD—*El* ADELANTADO D. FRANCISCO DE MONTEJO. 1° *Junio*, 1539. *Coleccion de* MUÑOZ, MS., tom. 81.

friendship is sufficient, and that it will explain itself. The Dominican monks of Guatemala did not fall into this error, and it will be a pleasure to recount their proceedings instinct with the wisdom of the serpent, as well as the harmlessness of the dove.

After the manner of pious men of those times, Las Casas and his monks did not fail to commence their undertaking by having recourse to the most fervent prayers, severe fasts, and other mortifications. These lasted several days. They then turned to the secular part of their enterprize, using all the skill that the most accomplished statesmen, or men of the world, could have brought to bear upon it. The first thing they did, was to translate into verse, in the Quiché language, the great doctrines of the Church. In these verses they described the Creation of the World, the Fall of Man, his banishment from Paradise, and the mediation prepared for him; then the life of Christ, His passion, His death, His resurrection, His ascension; then His future return to judge all men, the punishment of the wicked and the reward of the good. They divided the work, which was very extensive,* into *coplas*, after the Castillian fashion.† We might well wish, for many reasons, that this laudable work remained to us, but I am not aware of there being any traces of its existence.

* "Con gran cuydado enseñaron los Padres á estos quatro Indios, que eran Christianos, las coplas ó versos que avian compuesto."—REMESAL, *Hist.*, lib. 3, cap. 11.

† See BOUTERWEK'S *History of Spanish Literature*, vol. i. p. 108; and TICKNOR, *History of Spanish Literature*, vol. i. pp. 371-2.

B. V. Ch. 6.

The Dominicans attract some Indian merchants,

And teach them the Quiché verses.

The poetry is set to music.

The good fathers then began to study how they should introduce their poem to the notice of the Indians of Tuzulutlan; and, availing themselves of a happy thought for this purpose, they called to their aid four Indian merchants, who were in the habit of going with merchandize, several times a year, into this province called "the Land of War." The monks, with great care, taught these four men to repeat the couplets which they had composed. The pupils entered entirely into the views of their instructors. Indeed, they took such pains in learning their lessons, and (with the fine sense for musical intonation which the Indians generally possessed) repeated these verses so well, that there was nothing left to desire. The composition and the teaching occupied three months, and was not completed until the middle of August, 1537. Las Casas communicated his intended undertaking to Domingo de Betanzos, now the head of the Dominican Order in New Spain, who was delighted to give his sanction and his blessing to the good work. The monks and the merchants, however, were not satisfied until they had brought their labours to much greater perfection, until, indeed, they had set these verses to music, so that they might be accompanied by the Indian instruments; taking care, however, to give the voice parts a higher place in the scale than that of the deep-toned instruments of the natives.* No doubt, this

* "Es de saber que no solo se contentaron con esto, sino que se las pusieron en tono y armonía música al son de los instrumentos que los Indios usan, acompañándolos con un tono vivo y atiplado

music was a great improvement upon anything the Indians had ever heard in the way of sweet sounds.

The enterprize was now ready to be carried into action,—to be transplanted from the schools into the world. It was resolved that the merchants should commence their journey into "the Land of War," carrying with them not only their own merchandize, but being furnished by Las Casas with the usual small wares to please aborigines, such as scissors, knives, looking-glasses, and bells. The pupils and the teachers parted, the merchants making their accustomed journey into the territories of Quiché and Zacapula, their destination being a certain *pueblo* of a great cacique of those parts, a wise and warlike chief, who had many powerful alliances.*

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para deleytar mas el oydo, por ser muy baxos y roncos los instrumentos músicos de que usan los Indios."—REMESAL, *Hist. de Chiapa y Guatemala*, lib. 3, cap. 15.

* This must, I think, have been the Chief of Atitlan, for though, in Remesal's narrative he is never named directly, yet as he was baptized as Juan, and as the only Cacique who is addressed as Don Juan, in a formal letter from the Emperor, thanking the Caciques of those parts for the aid they had given to the Dominicans, is Don Juan de Atitlan, it is highly probable that Atitlan was the province visited by the merchants.

CHAPTER VII.

LAS CASAS SUCCEEDS IN CONVERTING BY PEACEABLE MEANS "THE LAND OF WAR"—HE IS SENT TO SPAIN, AND DETAINED THERE.

L. XV. Ch. 7.

BEHIND all ostensible efforts of much novelty and magnitude what silent longings and unutterable expectations lie unnoticed or concealed! In the crowded theatre, or the cold, impatient senate, the voice that is raised for the first time—perhaps for ever afterwards to command an absolute attention,—trembles with all the sensibility of genius, while great thoughts and vast aspirations, hurrying together in the agitated mind, obstruct and confuse the utterance. We pity, with an intense sympathy, the struggles of one who is about to be famous. Meanwhile, perhaps, in some dark corner or obscure passage, is the agonized and heart-sick mother, who can hardly think, or hope, or pray,—convinced, as far as she is conscious of anything, that her child ought to succeed, and must succeed, but suffering all the timid anxiety that mature years will ever bring, and with the keenest appreciation of every difficulty and drawback that can prevent success.

It is a bold figure to illustrate the feelings of a monk by those of a mother; but it may be

doubted whether many mothers have suffered a keener agony of apprehensive expectation than Las Casas and his brethren endured at this and other similar points of their career. They had the fullest faith in God and the utmost reliance upon Him; but they knew that He acts through secondary means, and how easily, they doubtless thought, might some failure in their own preparation—some unworthiness in themselves—some unfortunate conjunction of political affairs in the Indies—some dreadful wile of the Evil One—frustrate all their long enduring hopes. In an age when private and individual success is made too much of, and success for others too little, it may be difficult for many persons to imagine the intense interest with which these childless men looked forward to the realization of their great religious enterprize—the bringing of the Indians by peaceful means into the fold of Christ.

B. XV. Ch. 7.

The anxieties of Las Casas and his brethren.

The merchants were received, as was the custom in a country without inns, into the palace of the Cacique, where they met with a better reception than usual, being enabled to make him presents of these new things from Castille. They then set up their tent, and began to sell their goods as they were wont to do, their customers thronging about them to see the Spanish novelties. When the sale was over for that day, the chief men amongst the Indians remained with the Cacique, to do him honour. In the evening, the merchants asked for a "*teplanastli*," an instrument of music which we may suppose to

Reception of the merchants in Tuzulutlan.

B. XV. Ch. 7.

The merchants commence their chant.

have been the same as the Mexican *teponaztli*,* or drum. They then produced some timbrels and bells, which they had brought with them, and began to sing the verses which they had learned by heart, accompanying themselves on the musical instruments. The effect produced was very great. The sudden change of character, not often made, from a merchant to a priest, at once arrested the attention of the assemblage. Then, if the music was beyond anything that these Indians had heard, the words were still more extraordinary; for the good fathers had not hesitated to put into their verses the questionable assertion that idols were demons, and the certain fact that human sacrifices were abominable. The main body of the audience was delighted, and pronounced these merchants to be ambassadors from new Gods.

The Cacique, with the caution of a man in

* "The *teponaztli*, which is used to this day among the Indians, is cylindrical and hollow, but all of wood, having no skin about it, nor any opening but two slits lengthways in the middle, parallel to, and at a little distance from each other. It is sounded by beating the space between those two slits with two little sticks, similar to those which are made use of for modern drums, only that their points are covered with *ule* or elastic gum, to soften the sound. The size of this instrument is various: some are so small as to be hung about the neck; some of a middling size; and others so large as to be upwards of five feet long. The sound which they yield is melancholy, and that of the largest so loud, that it may be heard at the distance of two or three miles. To the accompaniment of these instruments . . . . the Mexicans sung their hymns and sacred music. Their singing was harsh and offensive to European ears; but they took so much pleasure in it themselves, that on festivals they continued singing the whole day. This was unquestionably the art in which the Mexicans were least successful."—CLAVIGERO, *Hist. of Mexico*, vol. I, pp. 398-9. English translation.

authority, suspended his judgment until he had heard more of the matter. The next day, and for seven succeeding days, this sermon in song was repeated. In public and in private, the person who insisted most on this repetition was the Cacique; and he expressed a wish to fathom the matter, and to know the origin and meaning of these things. The prudent merchants replied, that they only sang what they had heard; that it was not their business to explain these verses, for that office belonged to certain *padres*, who instructed the people. "And who are *padres?*" asked the Chief. In answer to this question, the merchants painted pictures of the Dominican monks, in their robes of black and white, and with their tonsured heads. The merchants then described the lives of these *padres*, how they did not eat meat, and how they did not desire gold, or feathers, or cocoa; that they were not married, and had no communication with women; that night and day they sang the praises of God; and that they knelt before very beautiful images. Such were the persons, the merchants said, who could and would explain these couplets: they were such good people, and so ready to teach, that if the Cacique were to send for them, they would most willingly come.

The Indian Chief resolved to see and hear these marvellous men in black and white, with their hair in the form of a garland, who were so different from other men; and for this purpose, when the merchants returned, he sent in company with them a brother of his, a young man

B. XV. Ch. 7.

twenty-two years of age, who was to invite the Dominicans to visit his brother's country, and to carry them presents. The cautious Cacique instructed his brother to look well to the ways of these *padres*, to observe whether they had gold and silver like the other Christians, and whether there were women in their houses. These instructions having been given, and his brother having taken his departure, the Cacique made large offerings of incense and great sacrifices to his idols for the success of the embassage.

On the arrival of this company at Santiago, Las Casas and the Dominican monks received the young Indian Chief with every demonstration of welcome: and it need hardly be said with what joy they heard from the merchants who accompanied him of the success of their mission.

While the Indian Prince was occupied in visiting the town of Santiago, the monks debated amongst themselves what course they should pursue in reference to the invitation which they had received from the Cacique. Guided throughout by great prudence, they resolved not to risk the safety of the whole of their body, but to send only one monk at first as an ambassador and explorer. Their choice fell upon Father Luis Cancér, who probably was the most skilled of all the four in the language that was likely to be best understood in Tuzulutlan. Meanwhile the Cacique's brother and his attendants made their observations on the mode of life of the monks, who gratified him and them by little presents. It was time now to return; and the whole party,

consisting of Luis Cancér, the Cacique's brother, his Indians, and the four merchants of Guatemala, set off from Santiago on their way to the Cacique's country. Luis Cancér carried with him a present for the Cacique in fabrics of Castille, and also some crosses and images. The reason given for carrying these latter is, "That the Cacique might read in them that which he might forget in the sermons that would be preached to him."*

The journey of Father Luis was a continued triumph. Everywhere the difference was noticed between his dress, customs, and manners, and those of the Spaniards who had already been seen in Tuzulutlan. When he came into the Cacique's territory he was received under triumphal arches, and the ways were made clean before him as if he had been another Montezuma, traversing his kingdom. At the entrance of the Cacique's own town, the Chief himself came out to meet Father Luis, and bending before him, cast down his eyes, showing him the same mark of reverence that he would have shown to the priests of that country. More substantial and abiding honours soon followed. At the Cacique's orders a church was built, and in it the father said mass in the presence of the Chief, who was especially delighted with the cleanliness of the sacerdotal garments, for the priests of his own country, like those of Mexico, affected filth and darkness, the fitting accompaniments for a religion of terror.

* "Para que leyesse en ellas lo que de los sermones que le avia de hazer se le olvidasse."—Remesal, *Hist. de Chiapa y Guatemala*, lib. 3, cap. 15.

B. XV. Ch. 7.

Meanwhile, Father Luis continued to explain the Christian creed, having always a most attentive and favourable hearer in the Cacique. The good monk had taken the precaution to bring with him the written agreement signed by the Governor, and he explained to the Chief the favourable conditions that it contained for the welfare of the Indians. The merchants were witnesses who might be appealed to for the meaning of this document; and that they were faithful to the monks—indeed, a sort of lay-brotherhood,—may be inferred from the fact of their continuing to chaunt every evening the verses which had won for them at first the title of ambassadors from new gods. The Cacique's brother gave a favourable report of what he had seen at Santiago, and the result of all these influences on the mind of the Indian Chieftain was such, that he determined to embrace the Christian Faith. No sooner had he become a proselyte, than, with all the zeal and energy belonging to that character, he began to preach the new doctrine to his own vassals. He was the first to pull down and to burn his idols; and many of his chiefs, in imitation of their master, likewise became iconoclasts.

The Cacique becomes a Proselyte.

In a word, the mission of Father Luis was supremely successful, and after he had visited some of the towns subject to the converted Cacique, he returned, according to the plan that had been determined upon by the brethren, to the town of Santiago, where Las Casas and the other monks received with ineffable delight the

Father Luis returns to Santiago, Oct., 1537.

good tidings which their brother had to communicate to them. Even if the result of this mission be looked at as a mere matter of worldly success, all persons of any power of sympathy will be glad to find that some enterprize projected by Las Casas met with its due reward, and such a reward, indeed, as might well serve to efface the remembrance of the terrible disaster at Cumaná, which had driven him from secular into monastic life. How often, perhaps, in the [illegible] of his cell at St. Domingo, had he regretted taking that irremediable step, especially when he found [illegible] letters, that his friends at Court had not forgotten him; and how often had he painted to himself, according to the fancies [illegible] all indulge in the good that he might have done had [illegible] taken the other course?

It was at the end of October [illegible] close of the rainy season,* when [illegible]

* "What are called the 'seasons' under the tropics, namely, the wet and dry, are much influenced in their commencement and duration by local causes, so that what is literally true of one place can only be partially so of another. The widest differences are of course between the Atlantic and Pacific slopes of the continent. The whole of Central America comes within the zone of the north-east trade winds, which, sweeping across the Atlantic, reach the continent almost saturated with vapour. The portion of moisture of which the [illegible] prived by the Cordilleras [illegible] is probably [illegible] quite, made up in their [illegible] over the rest of the same [illegible] These winds are intercepted by the high mountain [illegible] of the Lagunas, [illegible] from them [illegible] Atlantic, through a [illegible] streams and rivers. But the mountains of Central America are not all high enough to entirely intercept the trade winds. They are, moreover, broken through by transverse

B. XV. Ch. 7.

Las Casas takes his place, Dec. 1537.

could best be traversed, that Father Luis returned to Santiago. Las Casas himself now resolved to go into "the Land of War," taking as a companion Father Pedro de Angulo, who also was well acquainted with the language of that district. As might be expected, the Cacique (whom we shall hereafter call by his baptismal name, Don Juan) received Las Casas with all due honours. In the interval of time that had elapsed between the departure of Father Luis and the arrival of Father Bartholomew, the new convert's sincerity and energy had been sorely tried. Indeed, it was hardly to be expected that this sudden conversion could go on with all the success that had attended it in the beginning. The first great difficulty that he encountered arose from the following circumstances.

There happened to be a treaty of marriage for a daughter of the Cacique of Cobau with the brother of the converted Cacique—that same brother who had visited the Dominicans at Santiago. It was a custom on such occasions

valleys, like that of the Nicaraguan lakes and that of Comayagua in Honduras. As a consequence, the trades, for a great part of the year, blow entirely across the continent, reaching the Pacific slope deprived of their moisture, and cooled by a passage over the elevated region of the interior. Hence result the great salubrity of that declivity, the comparative coolness and dryness of its climate, and its consequently greater population.

"There is, properly speaking, no dry season on the Atlantic littoral of Central America. For about four months of the year—from May to October—the trades are intermittent; consequently, less moisture is precipitated, and this slope has then its nearest approach to what is called the 'dry season.'"—SQUIER's *Notes on Central America*, chap. 2, p. 27. New York, 1855.

for those who had charge of the bride to sacrifice certain birds and animals, on arriving at the confines of the bridegroom's territory. Don Juan's conscience would not allow even these innocent sacrifices to be made. The ambassadors from Coban were in the highest degree vexed and affronted; but at last, after much consideration, they resolved not to break off an alliance with so powerful a prince upon a mere matter of form, and the Princess of Coban was conducted into the bridegroom's country. This difficulty, therefore, was for the present surmounted; but his own people now gave Don Juan far more trouble than the ambassadors from Coban. An ignorant mob is sometimes very conservative. Pagans, as the scholar knows from the derivation of the name, were but the inhabitants of country villages, whose ignorance and unimpressibility kept off the influence of any new doctrine, however good. In Don Juan's territories similar causes would produce similar effects, and there would be a body of dull and fierce fanatics who would pride themselves on being the last to quit the old heathen ways, and the slowest to appreciate the merits of Christianity. Moreover, we cannot doubt that in this case the unclean priests, seeing their vocation falling from them, stirred up the common people, who, thus acted upon, contrived furtively to burn the church. This was not done without suspicion of the ambassadors from Coban being concerned in the matter. The Cacique, however, undaunted by all this opposition, rebuilt the church. Las Casas and his

The Cacique finds it difficult to convert his people.

Resistance to the new doctrines.

B. XV. Ch. 7.

brother monk, Pedro de Angulo, said mass in it, and preached in the open plain to the people, who came in great numbers, some from curiosity and from favour to the new religion, and others with a gluttonous longing to devour the monks, who, they thought, would taste well if flavoured with sauce of Chili.* Las Casas and his companion, anxious to extend their knowledge of these regions, traversed, with a guard of sixty men, the neighbouring territories, but yielded to the wishes of Don Juan in not going as far as Coban. The fathers were well received on their journey, and they returned to the *pueblo* of Don Juan at the beginning of the year 1538.

1538.

At this juncture Las Casas and all lovers of the Indians received a very seasonable aid from the Court of Rome. That accomplished and refined Pope, Paul the Third (Alexander Farnese), was moved to a consideration of Indian affairs by the letter before referred to, which the learned Bishop of Tlascala had addressed to him, and also by a mission sent at the instance of Betanzos and the chief Dominicans in New Spain. This mission was conducted by Father Bernardino de Minaya, who in former days had travelled with Las Casas through Guatemala and Nicaragua. The Pope answered the requisitions of the Bishop and the Monks in the most favourable and forcible manner; and must have shown a rapidity in giving this answer which His Holiness—who was

The Dominicans in New Spain send to Paul III.

* "Otros con golosina de comérselos, pareciéndoles que tendrian buen gusto con salsa de Chile."—REMESAL, lib. 3, cap. 16.

celebrated for delay in business,* usually waiting for some happy conjuncture of affairs,—was seldom known to manifest. He issued a Brief, founded on the great text *Euntes docete omnes gentes*, in which he declared in the most absolute manner the fitness of the Indians for receiving Christianity, considering them, to use the words of the Brief, "as veritable men, not only capable of receiving the Christian Faith, but as we have learnt, most ready to embrace that faith."† He also pronounced in very strong language against their being reduced into slavery.‡

Brief of Pope Paul III. in favour of the Indians. June, 1537.

Nor was Paul the Third content with issuing this Brief, but he addressed a letter to the Archbishop of Toledo, the Primate of Spain, in which His Holiness said, "It has come to our knowledge that our dearest son in Christ, Charles, the ever august Emperor of the Romans, King of Castille and Leon, in order to repress those who, boiling over with cupidity, bear an inhuman mind against the human race, has by public edict forbidden all his subjects from making slaves of the Western and Southern Indians, or depriving them of their goods."§

His letter to the Primate of Spain. June, 1537.

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* See RANKE'S *History of the Popes*, vol. 1, book 3, p. 247. Mrs. Austin's translation.

† "Attendentes Indos ipsos, utpote veros homines, non solùm Christianæ Fidei capaces existere, sed, ut nobis innotuit, ad fidem ipsam promptissimè currere."—REMESAL, lib. 3, cap. 16.

‡ "Imò libertate et dominio hujusmodi uti et potiri, et gaudere, liberè et licitè posse, nec in servitutem redigi debere. . . . . Datum Romæ Anno Domini millessimo quingentessimo trigessimo septimo, quarto nonas Junii, Pontificatus nostri anno tertio."—REMESAL, *Hist. de Chiapa y Guatemala*, lib. 3, cap. 16. See also *Concilios Mexicanos*, lib. 1, tit. 4, sect.

§ "Ad nostrum siquidem pervenit auditum, quòd charissimus in Christo filius noster Carolus

B. XV. Ch. 7.

The Pope then pronounced a sentence of excommunication of the most absolute kind* against all those who should reduce the Indians to slavery, or deprive them of their goods.

The men who throw themselves most earnestly into public affairs, if they meet with terrible rebuffs, have, on the other hand, at rare intervals, signal joys and triumphs—triumphs unknown to those who commit their hopes to private ventures only. Thus it fared with Las Casas on the present occasion. His delight on the arrival in the Indies of these missives from the Pope was very keen; and he soon found a practical way of expressing it, by translating the Brief into Spanish, and sending it to many parts of the Indies, in order that the monks might notify its contents to the lay colonists.

Las Casas translates the Pope's Brief.

In his own particular mission, however, Las Casas found something else, beyond the Papal declaration of freedom, that was wanting, and without which the welfare of the Indians of Tuzulutlan could not, in his opinion, be secured. According to a proposition which he maintained

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Romanorum Imperator semper Augustus, qui etiam Castellæ et Legionis Rex existit, ad reprimendos eos, qui cupiditate æstuantes contrà humanum genus inhumanum gerunt animum, publico edicto omnibus sibi subditis prohibuit, ne quisquam Occidentales aut Meridionales Indos in servitutem redigere, aut bonis suis privare præsumant."—REMESAL, *Hist. de Chiapa y Guatemala*, lib. 3, cap. 17.

* "Sub excomunicationis latæ sententiæ pœnâ, si secùs fecerint, eo ipso incurrendâ."—REMESAL, lib. 3, cap. 17.

most stoutly, it appeared to him, that for any nation to receive a law, two conditions were necessary: first, that there should be a *pueblo*, by which he means a collection of families; and secondly, that the nation should have perfect liberty; for, not being free, he says, they cannot form part of a community.* This last is a great doctrine. The arguments of Las Casas were founded upon Biblical history—as, for instance, that God gave no law in the time of Abraham, because there was no community, but a single household only. On the other hand, when the Israelites were in Egypt, although they formed a great community, they received no law, because they were captives. God gave the law only when the two conditions were combined—namely, the existence of a community, and freedom for the people who dwelt in it. Now, looking around him in Tuzulutlah, Las Casas found the element of liberty† sufficiently developed, but that of the existence of communities lamentably deficient. The Indians, under the government of his friend, the Cacique Don Juan, were scattered over the country in very small villages, seldom consisting of so many as six houses, and these villages were generally more than "a musket-shot" apart. This state of things seemed to him intolerable, and cer-

Conditions requisite for political life.

* "Porque no siendo libres no pueden ser parte de pueblo." —REMESAL, *Hist. de Chiapa y Guatemala*, lib. 3, cap. 17.

† "Hallando en la Provincia donde andava, lo primero, que era la libertad, solo faltava lo segundo — de juntar los naturales en pueblos, para que viviendo en comunidad recibiessen mejor la ley de Christo nuestro Señor."—REMESAL, *Hist. de Chiapa y Guatemala*, lib. 3, cap. 17.

B. XV. Ch. 7.

tainly, with a view to instruction, it was so. But instruction and preservation are different things; and it was afterwards found that collecting the Indians together in settlements did not always favour their preservation.

Danger of bringing the Indians together in settlements.

One evil effect of these settlements was, that it exposed the Indians to the attack of contagious diseases, like the small-pox, which, being caught from a strong people, the Spaniards, was a strong disease, and carried off the infirmly-constituted Indians by thousands. In reference to this subject, a Mexican ecclesiastic, writing a century afterwards, quotes with great significance, a common Spanish proverb, "If the stone strikes against the earthen jar, woe to the jar: and if the jar strikes against the stone, woe not the less to the jar."* We cannot wonder, however, that Las Casas, whose first aim at this period was conversion, should have insisted so much upon collecting the people into *pueblos*, as it enabled them to hear mass and to receive the sacraments. But the Tuzulutlans were not at all of his mind. They could not bear the idea of quitting the spots where they had been born — their forests, their mountains, and their clefts,—for the purpose of forming a *pueblo*, which could not unite in itself the peculiarities of each man's birth-place, and would be likely to be chosen with a view to dull convenience mainly. This measure,

Las Casas desires to found *pueblos* in the converted country.

* "Que si la piedra da en el cántaro, mal para el cántaro: y si el cántaro da en la piedra, mal tambien para el cántaro."— Davila Padilla, lib. 1 cap. 33, p. 103.

therefore, second only in difficulty to that of winning a people from a nomadic state to one of settled habitation, was hard to effect in Tuzulutlan. Though Las Casas was seconded in all his efforts by the Cacique, the people were almost inclined to take up arms. At last, after great labours and sufferings, Las Casas and Pedro de Angulo contrived to make a beginning of a settlement, at a place called Rabinal, having wisely chosen a spot which some few Indians, at least, were attached to, as Rabinal had been inhabited before. There they built a church, and there they preached and taught the people, teaching not only spiritual things, but manual arts, and having to instruct their flock in the elementary processes of washing and dressing.* These good fathers were not of that school which holds that this life, God's gift, is to be left uncomely because the next is to be sublime.

Founding of the town of Rabinal. 1538.

It is admitted that the Indians, at first, regarded the mass rather as a religious ceremony which was new to them than for what, as REMESAL says, "that most divine Sacrifice in itself is."† But it must have had its attractions; and the active, kindly teaching of Brother Bartholomew and Brother Pedro about things the Indians could understand must have given weight

What the mass at first appeared to the Indians.

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* "....de lo que les enseñavan de cosas manuales, como labarse, y vestirse, y otras cosas." —REMESAL, *Hist. de Chiapa y Guatemala*, lib. 3, cap. 17.

† "Mas miravan por ceremonia para ellos tan nueva, que por lo que en sí es aquel divinissimo Sacrificio."—REMESAL, *Hist. de Chiapa y Guatemala*, lib. 3, cap. 17.

B. XV. Ch. 7.

and influence to their words in all matters. The town began to grow, one Indian family attracting another, until, at last, a hundred families were collected together.

Indians of Coban come to see the new town.

This strange experiment of forming a *pueblo* was not likely to go unnoticed long, and accordingly the inhabitants of Rabinal found their neighbours of Coban stealing in to see this new mode of life. It seems that their impressions of it were favourable, for Luis Cancér, who had been sent for by Las Casas to aid in founding the town, took occasion now to penetrate as far as Coban, and, finding himself well received, and that the Indians there listened with pleasure to what he told them of the Christian Faith, returned to Rabinal more contented, it is said, than if he had discovered very rich mines of silver and of gold. His joy was shared by Las Casas and Pedro de Angulo, and they all commenced with great vigour studying the language of Coban. Each success was with these brave monks a step gained for continued exertion.

Father Luis penetrates to Coban.

The little town of Rabinal, which consisted of five hundred inhabitants, having now been put into some kind of order, Las Casas and Pedro de Angulo resolved to return to Guatemala, for the purpose of concerting measures with the Bishop for the further spread of the Faith in those parts. Las Casas bethought him of taking back with them their principal convert, the Cacique Don Juan. It was not found difficult to induce the Cacique to accompany the fathers, but they were obliged to persuade him to reduce his retinue,

Las Casas induces the Cacique to accompany him.

which he would have made very large, as they feared that any injury or affront which any Indian in the Chief's train might meet with, would bring down a torrent of trouble and reproaches upon themselves, and they thought that, the smaller the number of Indians, the less chance there would be of anything untoward happening between them and the Spaniards of Santiago. Finally, the fathers and the Cacique Don Juan, with a moderate number of attendants, set off on their journey, leaving Luis Cancér in charge of the Christianized town of Rabinal.

Persuades the Cacique to reduce his retinue.

Las Casas had given due notice to his friends at Santiago of his intended return, and also of what notable company was coming with him. Rodrigo de Ladrada, the only monk left in the convent of the Dominicans at Santiago, did the best he could to prepare their poor house for the reception of the Chief and his retinue, by adding huts to it, and collecting maize.

Return of Las Casas, with his convert, to Guatemala. 1538.

It was with more delight, and certainly with more reason for being delighted, than many a Roman conqueror has had on the day of his ascent to the Capitol, that Las Casas and his brother monk brought the Cacique Don Juan in triumph to their humble monastery. The moment they had arrived, the Bishop of Guatemala hurried forth to welcome the good fathers, and also to salute the Indian Chief. As the Bishop knew the language very well, he was able to conduct the reception with all fitting courtesy, and also to discourse with the new convert about religious

B. XV. Ch. 7.

matters, upon which the Bishop found him well informed.

The Bishop, being much pleased at this interview, felt sure the Governor would be no less so; and he sent a message, begging His Lordship (Alvarado had returned from Spain) to come and join them. The Governor came forthwith. Now, Alvarado, though a fierce and cruel personage, knew (which seems to have been a gift of former days) when he saw a man. Believing still in aristocracies, there are some modern people who seem to have lost the power of discerning the real aristocrat.

The Bishop and the Governor do honour to the Cacique.

When, however, the bold Adelantado met the Cacique, the Indian Chieftain's air and manner, his repose, the gravity and modesty of his countenance, his severe look and weighty speech, won so instantaneously upon the Spaniard, that, having nothing else at hand, he took off his own plumed hat, and put it on the head of the Cacique. The soldiers who stood around wondered and murmured at the strange fact, that a Lieutenant-Governor of the Emperor should take his own hat off, and put it, as they said, on a dog of an Indian. But Alvarado was not a man to care for their murmurs, and so, on some ensuing day, far from showing less favour to the grave Cacique, he placed the Indian between himself and the Bishop, and they traversed the town together, the Governor having previously ordered the merchants to display their goods to the greatest advantage, and the Bishop having told them that, if the Cacique should seem to take a fancy

to anything, they should offer it to him, and he, the Bishop, would be answerable for the payment. But those whom we call savages, and people of the highest breeding in civilized life, alike pride themselves upon the coolness and composure with which they regard any new thing that may be offered for their wonder or their admiration. The Cacique walked through the tents of the Guatemalan merchants with such gravity and apparent indifference that it seemed as if the goods he saw were no novelty to him—"as if, indeed, he had been born in Milan." Finding that he did not seem to admire anything particularly, the Governor and the Bishop changed their tactics, and began to press articles of value upon him; but he would not receive any of them. At last he fixed his eyes upon an image of "Our Lady," and condescended to ask what that was. The Bishop informed him; when the Indian remarked that the Bishop's words agreed with what the *padres* had told him. The Bishop then ordered the image to be taken down, and begged the Cacique to accept it. The Cacique seemed pleased with this, and received the image on his knees. He then delivered it to one of his principal attendants, ordering him to carry it with much veneration. The Chieftain's suite, not so dignified and self-restrained as their master, were pleased at receiving little presents; and, after a short stay at Santiago, they all returned into their own country, accompanied by Las Casas and Ladrada, who were anxious to continue the good work they had begun, and, if possible, to go together into the territory of Coban. This they

The Cacique's gravity of demeanour.

Las Casas returns to Rabinal.

B. XV. Ch. 7.

succeeded in doing, and they found the people of that country very ready to receive them. They found, also, that it was well governed, and that the sacrifices there were less offensive than in any other part of the Indies.*

Las Casas penetrates into Coban.

Las Casas and his companions were not left long to investigate this part of the country, as they were recalled by their brethren at Santiago, who told them "that certain good thoughts had occurred to the Bishop of Guatemala, who wished to communicate them to Brother Bartholomew and his companions." They accordingly returned to Santiago in the beginning of May, 1539.

He returns to Guatemala at the request of the Bishop.

When they were all met together in junta, they found that the business upon which the Bishop wished to confer with them was the paucity of ecclesiastics in that diocese; to remedy which defect he stated his intention of sending to Spain. He mentioned also that for this purpose he had collected some money, and was ready to apply some more which he had in the hands of an agent at Seville. His present difficulty was in the selection of a person to whom he might intrust this business, and he begged the assembled Churchmen to help him to decide that point. There was also a Chapter of their Order about to be held at Mexico, and the clergy of Guatemala must be represented there. It was soon agreed that Las Casas and Ladrada should

The Bishop's object.

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* "Hallando sus repúblicas de mas concierto y de mejores leyes, y la gente mas religiosa y de menos abominables sacrificios que avia en todas las Indias."—Remesal, *Hist. de Chiapa y Guatemala*, lib. 3, cap. 18.

B. XV. Ch. 7.

Las Casas sent to Spain.

go to Spain, and that Luis Cancér and Pedro de Angulo should attend the Chapter at Mexico. They lost no time in setting out upon their journey. The two monks, who were to attend the Chapter, took the road by the sea-shore, which passed through Soconusco. Las Casas and Ladrada went by Rabinal and Coban, an arduous undertaking, but one which they thought necessary in order to re-assure their friendly Indians, who would otherwise be dismayed by their absence. And, in truth, the Cacique, Don Juan, was greatly disheartened when Las Casas and Ladrada came into his country, and told him that they were going to Spain. He feared that the surrounding tribes, many of whom were displeased with him for becoming a convert to Christianity, would now, in the absence of his protectors, the monks, no longer hesitate to make war upon him. They consoled him with the promise of a quick return, and he accompanied them to the bounds of his own country, furnishing them with an escort who were to see them safe as far as Chiapa.*

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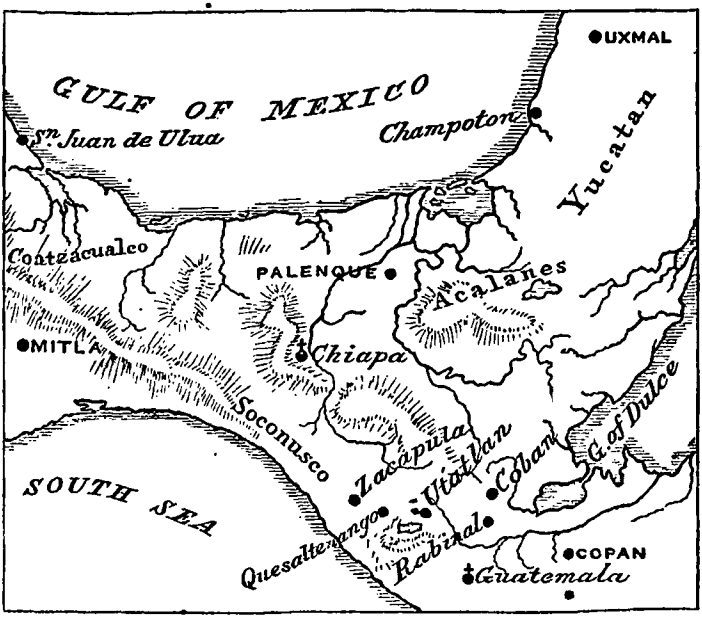
* That the Cacique remained true to the Faith, and was zealous in the cause of the monks, may be seen from a transaction which took place many years afterwards —in the year 1555.

"Sabida, pues, la cruel barbaridad de los Idolatras en toda aquella Tierra, el Indio Don Juan Cazique, Governador de la Vera-Paz, tomó tan por su quenta la vengança de la Muerte de los Religiosos, que con las compañías de sus Indios, acaudillándolos él en Persona, empezó á guerrear crudamente á los Acalanes, y Lacandones, dándoles Batallas en los Montes, y haziéndoles Entradas hasta sus propios Pueblos de la Provincia de Acalan, y á los de Puchutla, y Lacandon, matando á muchos de ellos, y talándoles sus Sembrados, y Milperias. (*Milperia*, from *milpa*, arable land.)

"Y dezia públicamente á todos, y en especial á los Padres del Convento de Santo Domingo de

B. XV. Ch. 7.

Thus the Dominican monastery at Guatemala was again left desolate. Certainly this monkish fraternity was no pedantic institution, which could not conform itself to the wants and the necessities of the people amongst whom its lot was cast. A faithful layman took charge of the



convent, probably with such orders as had been given many years ago, on a similar occasion, by

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Coban: Que no descansaria su Coraçon, ni tendria sossiego alguna, hasta que acabasse de raiz con todos los Acalanes, y Lacandones, en satisfacion, y vengança de la Muerte, que avian dado al Padre Prior Fray Domingo de Vico, y al Padre Fray Andrés Lopez, su Compañero: Tan excessivo era el amor, que al Padre Prior tenia; y tal el dolor, que labró en su sentimiento la alevosa Muerte que á los dos dieron aquellos Barbaros!"—JUAN DE VILLAGUTIERRE SOTOMAYOR, *Historia de la Conquista de la Provincia de el Itza*, lib. I, cap. 10.

I assume that the Cacique Don Juan is the same as the one mentioned in the text. It might have been his successor.

Betanzos,—to open the convent church to any one who wished to pray there; and this lay friend of the monastery employed his leisure, somewhat as the other laymen had done, in preparing unburnt bricks for the future building materials of the monastery.

The four monks reached Mexico safely, and were very kindly received by Domingo de Betanzos. A Chapter of the Dominicans was held on the 24th day of August, 1539; and, though the demand for Christian instruction was very urgent in Mexico, the Chapter, having been informed of the proceedings in Guatemala and "the Land of War," determined that four monks and two novices should be appointed to go to Guatemala; that Pedro de Angulo should be named as Vicar of the Dominican convent at Guatemala, and that Las Casas, with Ladrada and Luis Cancér, should be allowed to go to Spain. Las Casas and his companions accordingly pursued their way to the mother country.

Royal orders and letters favouring the enterprize of Las Casas.

We are left in no doubt of the activity of Brother Bartholomew after he had arrived at the Spanish Court; for there are a number of royal orders and letters, about this period, all bearing upon the conversion of the inhabitants of Tuzulutlan. There is an order sanctioning the promise which had been made on the Emperor's part, that no lay Spaniard should enter that province within five years, unless with the permission of the Dominican monks. There are letters, addressed, by command of the Emperor, to each of the principal Caciques of "the Land of War" who had favoured

Oct., 1540.

B. XV. Ch. 7.

the Dominicans, in which letters Charles thanks them for what they had done, and charges them to continue in the same course.* There are orders to the Governor of Guatemala to favour these caciques in their endeavours to help the Dominican monks, and instructions to the Governor of Mexico to allow Indians to be taken from that province by the Dominican monks, if they should find such Indians useful in their entry into Tuzulutlan. Music, the means by which Las Casas and his friends had accomplished so much good, was not forgotten; and the Emperor commands the Head of the Franciscans in New Spain to allow some of the Indians who could play and sing church music in the monasteries of that Order,† to be taken by Las Casas into the province of Tuzulutlan. And, finally, there is a general order to the authorities in America to punish those who should transgress the provisions which had been made in favour of Las Casas and his Dominicans.

We learn from one of these letters who were

* The letter of the Emperor to one of the caciques commences thus:—"El Rey. Don Jorge, Principal del pueblo de Tegpanatitan, que es en la Provincia de Guatemala. Por relacion de fray Bartolomé de las Casas e sido informado, que aveys travajado en pacificar, y traer de paz, los naturales de las Provincias de Taçulutlan, que estavan de guerra, y el favor y ayuda que para ello aveys dado al dicho fray Bartolomé de las Casas, y fray Pedro de Angulo, y á los otros Religiosos que en ello han entendido. . . . . Oct. 17, 1540." — Remesal, *Hist. de Chiapa y Guatemala*, lib. 3, cap. 21.

† "Algunos Indios que supiessen tañer ministriles altos, é chirimías, é sacabuches, é flautas, é algunos cantores de los que ay en los Monasterios de vuestra Orden."—Remesal, *Hist. de Chiapa y Guatemala*, lib. 3, cap. 21.

the chiefs that favoured the introduction of Christianity, and the names of their provinces, which is a valuable contribution to the history, and perhaps to the ethnology, of Central America. They were Don Juan, Governor (so he is called) of the town of Atitlan, Don Jorge, Principal of the town of Tecpanatitan, Don Miguel, Principal of the town of Zizicaztenango, and Don Gaspar, Principal of the town of Tequizistlan.

The business of Las Casas at Court was finished, and the monks, for whose sustenance the good Bishop of Guatemala had provided, were ready to leave Spain, when the President of the Council of the Indies detained Las Casas, in order that he might assist at certain councils which were about to be held, concerning the government of the Indies. This is the second time within a short period, that we have seen the Authorities in Spain anxious to avail themselves of the local knowledge and experience of eminent persons who had lived in the Indies.

Las Casas detained in Spain.

The monks chosen to aid in the conversion of Guatemala consisted of Franciscans and Dominicans. The Dominicans were detained in Spain, as Las Casas was their Vicar-General. But the Franciscans were sent on, and with them went Luis Cancér, carrying all the letters and royal Orders relating to the province of Tuzulutlan, still called "the Land of War," but which now deserved that name less than any part of the Indies. Before sailing, a very solemn proclamation was made on the steps of the Cathedral at Seville of that royal Order which sternly forbad the entrance

Franciscans sent to Guatemala.

Dominicans detained in Spain.

Publication at Seville of the royal Order in favour of Tuzulutlan, Jan. 21, 1541.

B. XV. Ch. 7.

for the present of any lay Spaniards into the favoured province of Tuzulutlan. This was a precaution adopted by Las Casas, who well knew that the Provincial Governors, though they kissed the royal Orders very dutifully, and were wont to put them, after the Eastern fashion, upon their heads, with every demonstration of respect, were extremely dexterous in disobeying them, on the pretext that His Majesty had been misinformed, or had been informed in a left-hand manner (*siniestramente*). Las Casas, therefore, was anxious to give all possible publicity to this royal Order in Spain, where its validity could not be denied.

CHAPTER VIII.

DISCOVERY TO THE NORTH OF MEXICO—DEATH OF ALVARADO—EARTHQUAKE AT GUATEMALA—GUATEMALA GOVERNED BY AN AUDIENCIA.

THE history of Guatemala is not so poor and infertile as to be included in the account of the proceedings of the monks of its only monastery, deeply interesting as those proceedings are. The conversion of the natives of Tuzulutlan did not, probably, excite much attention amongst the inhabitants of Santiago after their first astonishment at the successful beginning of that conversion, and when their mocking laughter was no longer applicable. Not that we must imagine them to have been silenced. A prophet of ill, having all time before him, and most human affairs admitting of frequent reverses, holds a secure position; and, when controverted by facts as to the present time, has only, with an air of increased wisdom corresponding with the increased distance of his foresight, to prophesy larger evils at more advanced periods. In the present instance, however, the men who had laughed at or prophesied against Las Casas had enough to occupy their attention in their own affairs, for the infant colony at Guatemala had been anything but flourishing. The town of Santiago

B. XV. Ch. 8.

was torn by those small, yet vexatious disputes which infest a colony; and these colonies in America laboured under the additional difficulty arising from their inhabitants being, for the most part, a community of conquerors. Every private soldier had become a person of some importance; and, contemplating the great achievements that he had taken part in, each one, it is said, thought that he alone had gained New Spain for the Emperor.* Thus, magnifying his own merits, and diminishing those of others, every Spanish colonist was a man who had a grievance. This spirit of discontent might have been controlled, and frequently was so, by a wise and just Governor; but in this colony of Guatemala, the Governor, Pedro de Alvarado, had acted with so little care in giving *encomiendas*,† that even he himself confessed, on the occasion of some petition on the subject being presented to the Town Council, that "he had been deceived, and had erred much, when he had divided the lands amongst his people; on which account he admitted that many persons had a just grievance to complain of."

Alvarado's *encomiendas.*

Then the artizans in such a colony were a most difficult body to deal with, as from artizans they had been developed with more than tropical rapidity of growth into aristocrats. Moreover,

* "Cada uno entendia que él solo ganó al Rey la Nueva España."—REMESAL, *Hist. de Chiapa y Guatemala*, lib. 4, cap. 4.

† "Que á él le constava ser assí lo que la peticion dezia, y que él se avia engañado y errado mucho quando repartió la tierra, por lo qual justamente muchos estavan agraviados."—REMESAL, *Hist. de Chiapa y Guatemala*, lib. 4, cap. 4.

where wealth had been so suddenly and largely acquired, gaming, a favourite vice among the Spaniards, was sure to flourish largely. In such a community almost everything was fluent, nothing consolidated. The following fact strikingly exemplifies this want of fixity. Men who have been habituated to power, or even who have once enjoyed it, seldom like any other than an official life; but, in Guatemala, *Regidores* were seen to lay down their offices, that they might be free to go where they listed. The Governor himself afforded an example of restless enterprize, which no doubt was readily followed.

Want of permanence in the colony.

The Indians suffered much from everything which tended to make the colony an ill-ordered state, and they seem to have had a particular dread of Alvarado's cruelty. They were known to have fled in large numbers on the rumour of his coming back from any of his numerous journeys, when they doubtless feared that they would be seized upon for ship-building, in which kind of work they suffered greatly. Las Casas says that Alvarado, when he was accompanied by large bodies of Indian troops, permitted cannibalism in his camp, an accusation which has hardly been brought against any other commander. The Bishop of Guatemala, an intimate and affectionate friend of Alvarado's (who, with all his careless atrocity, seems to have had something about him which attached men), informs the Emperor, in a letter bearing date the 20th of January, 1539, that now was not the time for the Indians to pay any such things as tithes, for what

Sufferings of the Indians.

The Bishop of Guatemala does not think that they can pay tithes.

B. XV. Ch. 8.

they gave their masters was as much as they could pay. "They are most poor," he says, "having only a little maize, a grinding-stone, a pot to boil in, a hammock, and a little hut of straw, with four posts, which every day is burnt down. They need not one protector only, but a thousand, and generally we are at feud with the governors."*

As to Alvarado, it can hardly so well be said that he governed, as that he came and devastated and distributed,—so much was he absent, and absent not for the good of his colony, but for the promotion of his own interests. It will be seen in the history of Peru how he went thither when the riches of that country were noised abroad, and what a poor ending his expedition there had. This was not the only enterprize he undertook in provinces remote from his own government. In his first visit to Spain he had gained some favour by promising the Spanish Court—a promise he had since renewed—to make expeditions in the South Sea, in order to search for spice islands, and for that purpose had constructed a fleet consisting of ten or twelve great ships, a galley, and several row-boats with lateen sails,—without doubt at great cost of Indian life.

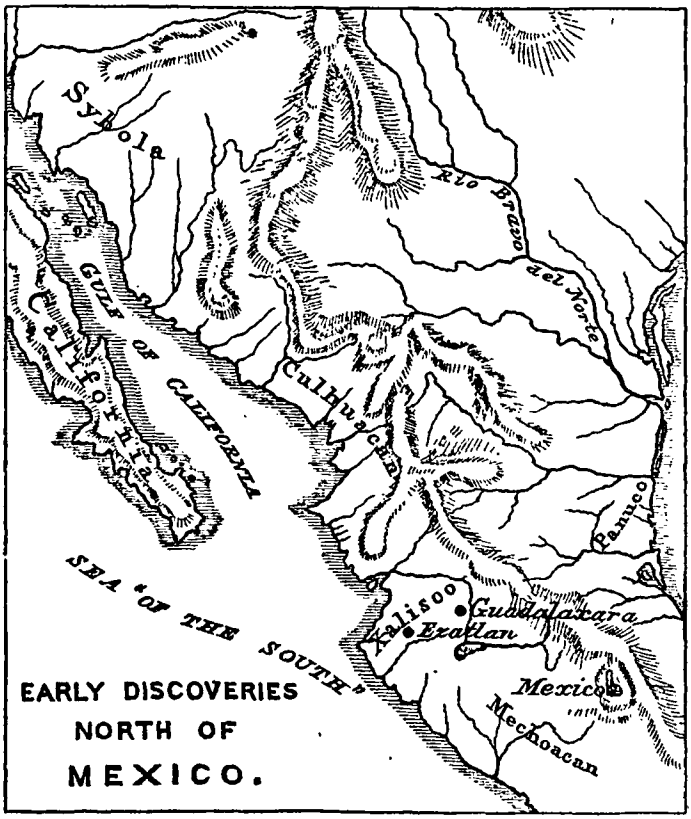
Alvarado constructs a fleet.

Now, it happened that, while Las Casas was in

* "No es tiempo que diezmen (los Indios), í basta lo que dan á sus amos. Son pobrísimos, í solo tienen un poco de Mahiz, una piedra para moler, una olla para cocer, í un petate en que dormir, í una casilla de paja de 4 palos que cada dia se les quema. Necesitan no un protetor sino mil, i generalmente tenemos competencias con los Governadores." —*Al* EMPERADOR, EPISCOPUS GUATEMALENSIS, *Santiago de Guatemala*, 20 *Enero*, 1539. *Coleccion de* MUNOZ, MS., tom. 81.

Spain, the question of discovery northwards was much considered at Mexico. In the year 1538 a certain Franciscan monk, Marcos of Nice, had penetrated into the country north of Culhuacan, and had arrived at Sybola. He returned, giving a wonderful account of the seven cities of Sybola,

Account of Sybola by Marcos of Nice.



and saying how, the farther you went northwards (*i.e.*, towards the country now known as the gold regions of California), the more peopled the country was, and more rich with gold and turquoises. An expedition was accordingly sent in the direction that he indicated, but it

B. XV. Ch. 8.

proved unsuccessful.* Mendoza, the Vice-Roy of Mexico, and Cortes, had concerted measures to make this discovery and conquest for themselves, but they could not agree. The Marquis was then obliged to go to Spain, and the Vice-Roy sent for Alvarado, intending to make use of him and his ships for this expedition northwards. Alvarado, in the true spirit of an adventurer, ready to go northwards, or southwards, or anywhere (in truth, he had already had the Californian project in his mind),† accepted the Vice-Roy's invitation, and came to terms with him on the subject of this enterprize. In this manner the discovery not only of California, but of its mineral riches would probably have been made by Alvarado, if he had lived to make any discovery at all. On his return, however, from Mexico to his fleet, as he passed through the province of Xalisco, he found some Indian towns in revolt, and he went to assist the Spanish Commander of that district to make war against the rebels. It was at a place called Ezatlan that he found this Commander, whom he accompanied to the attack of a rocky fortress to which the Indians had retired. The enemy fought so well, that the Spanish forces were compelled to fly.

Projected discovery of California by Pedro de Alvarado.

* See *Voyage de Cibola, par* PEDRO DE CASTAÑEDA DE NAGERA. TERNAUX-COMPANS, *Voyages.*

† "El Virrey embió por el Adelantado don Pedro de Alvarado que andava por el mar del Sur con una flota de diez ó doze navíos grandes, una galera, y otras fustas de remo, con intento de yr á descubrir las Islas de la Especería, como avia prometido al Emperador por dos vezes, ó la punta de Vallenas, que otros llaman Californias, para concertarse con él."—REMESAL, *Hist de Chiapa y Guatemala,* lib. 4, cap. 1.

The mountain which the Spaniards had ascended to make the attack was very precipitous, and some of the horses, being unable to maintain their footing, fell sheer down the precipices. Amongst them came one directly in the line of pathway that Alvarado was ascending. The Adelantado saw the danger, and promptly dismounted. By so doing he avoided the falling animal, but not so a large piece of rock which the horse, in its descent, had struck against and dislodged. This mass came bounding down the mountain, struck Alvarado, and carried him along with it, breaking his bones, it is said, as if they had been in a horse-mill. His men took him up, and carried him to the city of Guadalaxara, twenty-one leagues distant. His present danger and his sufferings brought his sins vividly before him during the journey. On his arrival at the town he made his confession; and he is said to have wept over his many errors, cruelties, and acts of injustice, praying pardon of God in respect of all that he had done; for, as the chronicler innocently or ironically adds, the injured persons were dead and absent (*por ser muertos y ausentes los ofendidos*). The remainder of Alvarado's short time on earth was filled with lamentations. One day, when he was uttering more sighs and groans than usual, a friend who was standing near made this inquiry, "What part is it which Your Lordship suffers most from?" and he answered "*El alma*" (the soul). Shortly afterwards, having received the sacraments, he died. His death took place in July, 1541.

Accident to Alvarado.

Death of Alvarado, July, 1541.

Las Casas hopes that Alvarado's unfortunate

B. XV. Ch. 8.

end may be the punishment which God intended for him, and that there may be some hope for his soul. That his remorse was genuine may be inferred from the following circumstance. When dying, being too much exhausted to enter into the details of a will, he gave general testamentary instructions for his brother and the Bishop of Guatemala to discharge those obligations which might be due from him, and which might be a burden upon his conscience, mentioning that he had talked with the said Bishop many times upon the subject. The Bishop did arrange the will, having received full powers from his co-executor, Juan de Alvarado. The tenour of the instrument is most extraordinary: it lays open with a fearless hand the misdoings of the Adelantado, and is more like a record of confession and absolution than a testamentary paper.

Alvarado's will.

The first clause states that Alvarado left, in the valley close to the town of Guatemala, an estate with many married slaves upon it, who, the Bishop declares, were not, in his opinion, made slaves with a safe conscience; "for" (these are the exact words of the will), "in the first years of the peopling of the said estate, the said Adelantado called together the principal lords of the rest of the towns which he held in *encomienda*, and made to them a certain discourse, and required each lord of each town to give him so many families, with the heads of the families, that they might be brought together and settled on the said estate. These Indian chiefs, as they held him for Lord, and as he had con-

How Alvarado obtained slaves for his private estate.

quered them, gave him these families, according to his request. He branded the greater part of them for slaves, without any previous examination. And for the discharge of the conscience of the said Adelantado, conformably to that which had passed between us on the subject in discourse, and to that which I knew to be his wish, I declare that he left as freemen all the Indian slaves which are on the said estate, and also their wives and children."*

B. XV. Ch. 8.

The Bishop restores these slaves to freedom,

The Bishop then proceeds to create this estate into an *encomienda*, the rents and profits arising from which he devotes to founding two chaplaincies, the chaplains being obliged to say certain masses for the souls of Pedro de Alvarado and Beatrice de la Cueva, his wife.

And makes the estate into an *encomienda*.

If there should be any surplus after this charge, it is to go to the poor of Guatemala, and to provide marriage portions for the orphan daughters of the Conquerors.

The next provision of the will declares what is to be done with respect to the slaves in the mines, whom Alvarado had made slaves unjustly.

Alvarado's slaves in the mines

* "Porque en los años primeros de la poblacion de la dicha labrança, el dicho Adelantado llamó á los señores principales de los demas pueblos que el dicho Adelantado tenia en encomienda, é les hizo cierta plática, y les pidió á cada señor de cada pueblo que le diessen tantas casas con sus principales para las poner é juntar en la dicha labrança. Los quales como le tuviessen por señor, é averlos él conquistado se las dieron assí como las pidió. Esse herró por esclavos los mas dellos sin preceder otro exámen. É para descargo de la conciencia del dicho Adelantado, y conforme á lo que yo con él tenia comunicado é platicado, y á lo que sabia de su voluntad, digo: que dexó por libres á todos los Indios esclavos que estan en la dicha labrança milpa, é á sus mugeres é hijos."—REMESAL, *Hist. de Chiapa y Guatemala*, lib. 4, cap. 7.

B. XV. Ch. 8.

It begins thus—"Item: for as much as the said Adelantado (may he be in glory!) left many slaves digging gold in the mines, which was a great charge upon his soul, as he had demanded them from the Indians whom he held in *encomienda*, and they had given them to him in the same manner as that referred to in the preceding clause, which wrong I many times spoke to him about, and he acknowledged it, but because he had many debts, he did not dare to do that which was suitable for his conscience' sake. And the said Adelantado always told me that when he should see himself free from debt, he would set free these slaves."

To be set free after certain conditions are fulfilled.

Having made this exordium, the Bishop proceeds to declare that the said slaves shall be set free after they have earned enough money to pay the debts of the Adelantado, and to provide something for the portions of his natural children. Meanwhile they were to be well cared for and well instructed, and ultimately were to be settled upon the before-named estate.

Finally, there is a clause in the will stating the great conquests in which Alvarado had been concerned in the Indies, and proceeding to say that he is much indebted* to the natives; by which, as I read the passage, is meant that they have many claims upon him for terrible injuries done to them. But as these claims could not be ascertained, and Alvarado's conscience be freed in that respect, as the next best

* "En las quales conquistas es mucho en cargo á los naturales dellas."—REMESAL, *Hist. de Chiapa y Guatemala*, lib. 4, c. 9.

thing, the prelate appoints five hundred golden *pesos* to be sent to Castille for the redemption of captives. This is a strange way of providing for such a burthen of the conscience. At least, the money might have been spent in the Indies. But we must not quarrel with the ways men have of showing conscientiousness, so that there be any shown at all.

The foregoing provisions of Alvarado's will, drawn up by the Bishop, do not exactly fulfil the requirements of justice, and would by no means have satisfied Las Casas, who was always averse to compromises. But the provisions were probably very discreet, and were such, no doubt, as the temper of the times could bear. The will is a fatal piece of evidence against Alvarado as a governor. No such transactions, so completely violating all legality as well as natural justice, were ever brought home to Cortes. This evidence completes the charge that has been steadily made throughout this history against Alvarado, as having been one of the most pernicious adventurers concerned in the conquest of the Indies. His earliest appearance upon the page of history, when he authorized that massacre of the Mexican lords which led to the first great uprising of the citizens of Mexico,* afforded but a fitting prelude to the long chant of woe which this man's deeds evoked from the suffering natives throughout a large portion of the New World.

Contrast between Alvarado and Cortes.

It must not be supposed, however, that this

* See vol. 2, book 10, ch. 7, p. 391.

B. XV. Ch. 8.

Commander was looked upon then as we look upon him now; but, being a pious man, (a character which history has shown to be not inconsistent with considerable cruelty,) and also a truthful and sincere man, there were doubtless many good persons who had much regard for him. Domingo de Betanzos had been his confessor. The Bishop of Guatemala not only accepted the executorship, but we have a proof of the strength of affection which existed between Alvarado and the Bishop in a clause of that prelate's own will, in which he says how he loved the Adelantado Don Pedro de Alvarado much, and how he, on his part, seemed to love the Bishop much, showing this love both by his words and by his works;* and then the Bishop proceeds to appoint a fund for saying masses for the soul of Alvarado. These things are worthy of notice, as they enable us somewhat better to understand the men of those times, and the spirit in which they acted.

News of Alvarado's death reaches Guatemala.

The news of Alvarado's death was not slow in reaching his city of Santiago de Guatemala, where, as the chronicler remarks, in spite of the old Spanish proverb, that "bad news is always true news" (*que la mala nueva siempre es cierta*), the inhabitants did not believe the intelligence, until it was confirmed by a formal despatch from the Vice-Roy of Mexico. Upon receiving this

* "*Item declaro*, que al Adelantado Don Pedro de Alvarado yo le quise mucho, y él assí mismo me mostró quererme en obras y en palabras."—REMESAL, *Hist. de Chiapa y Guatemala*, lib. 4, cap. 10.

confirmation, Alvarado's wife, Donna Beatrice de la Cueva, gave herself up to the most frantic grief. She had all the house, inside and outside, halls, courts, kitchens, mess-rooms, stables, and offices, smeared with black. She herself retired to an obscure apartment where she would not allow a ray of light to enter. She would neither eat nor drink for several days. She would not listen to any consolation. Nothing was to be heard from her but sobs, cries, and groans of phrenzied agony. Her whole conduct was that of a woman who had lost her senses. Pedro de Angulo, who had returned from Mexico, went to condole with her, and, in spite of her refusing to be consoled, persisted in saying what he could to comfort the bereaved woman, and to subdue her into a state of resignation. He told her that there were two kinds of evils with which God chastised men; great evils, and small evils. It was a great evil when He deprived them of grace in this life, or of heaven in the life to come. It was a small evil when He deprived them of temporal things, such as estates, children, wives, or husbands; whereupon she sprang up like a viper that had been trodden upon (*como una vívora pisada*), and exclaimed, "Get out, Father, and come not hither to me with these sermons; peradventure, has God any greater evil to afflict me with, after having deprived me of my lord, the Adelantado?"* These words were afterwards much remembered.

Frantic sorrow of Beatrice de la Cueva.

* "Por ventura tiene Dios mas mal que hazerme, despues de averme quitado al Adelantado mi señor?"—Remesal, *Hist. de Chiapa y Guatemala*, lib. 4, cap. 3.

B. XV. Ch. 8.

Notwithstanding the plenitude of her sorrow, Beatrice de la Cueva did not neglect her interests, or perhaps, we may charitably say, the interests which had been those of her dead husband. The chronicler says, "Her ambition exceeded her grief, and the love of rule was deeper than the skirts of her widow's weeds, or the folds of her widow's veil."* The Vice-Roy, in his letter communicating the death of Alvarado, had suggested that Francisco de la Cueva should be appointed Governor until the Emperor's pleasure should be known. But Beatrice desired this appointment for herself, and, after the exequies of her husband, which lasted nine continuous days, were ended, she invited to her house the Bishop, the Alcaldes, and the Regidors, and urged them to elect her as Governor. A council was held on the 9th of September, 1541, and, after much discussion,† she was chosen as *Governadora*—the first instance of a woman having obtained that office in the Indies. She named as Lieutenant-Governor her brother, Don Francisco de la Cueva. In the public document appointing him, she signed herself "Donna Beatrice la Sinventura" (Dame Beatrice the Hapless One), and the words *la Sinventura* were written over the others, so that they only were

Alvarado's widow chosen as *Governadora.*

* "Y con todos estos extremos excedia su ambicion á las lágrimas, y el desseo de mandar la falda del mongil y pliegues de la toca." —Remesal, *Hist. de Chiapa y Guatemala*, lib. 4, cap. 3.

† One of the Alcaldes, Gonçalo Ortiz, steadily opposed her appointment. The Secretary has left half a page blank to record the objections which Ortiz made; but, as will be seen, anything that was omitted to be done on that day was most likely to remain incomplete for ever.

legible, "as if she did not wish to be known by any other name."* B. XV. Ch. 8.

Her government was a very brief one indeed, and is only signalized by an extraordinary calamity. It was mentioned, when recording the choice made of a site for the town of Santiago, that, smiling and fertile as the country looked, a more treacherous position could hardly have been found. While the Guatemalans were celebrating the pompous obsequies of the defunct Governor, a terrible tropical rain commenced, which lasted three days and three nights; and in the night succeeding that day on which Don Francisco de la Cueva was received as Lieutenant-Governor, being the 11th of September, at two o'clock in the morning, a dreadful earthquake took place. Neither was it an earthquake alone which, on this eventful night, threatened the unfortunate inhabitants of Santiago. From the Volcan del Agua proceeded vast torrents of water, which, uniting together, hurled down before them huge rocks upon the devoted city, sweeping away whole houses into the adjacent river. The unfortunate Dame Beatrice, now "Hapless" indeed, rose hastily, and, followed by her terrified women, who were some of the greatest ladies in the place, quitted her apartments, which were low, and so far secure, and fled to her oratory, a lofty building. There she ascended the altar and clung to the feet of "a Christ which served for the altar-piece," uttering the tenderest words of supplica-

Earthquake at Santiago, Sept. 11, 1541.

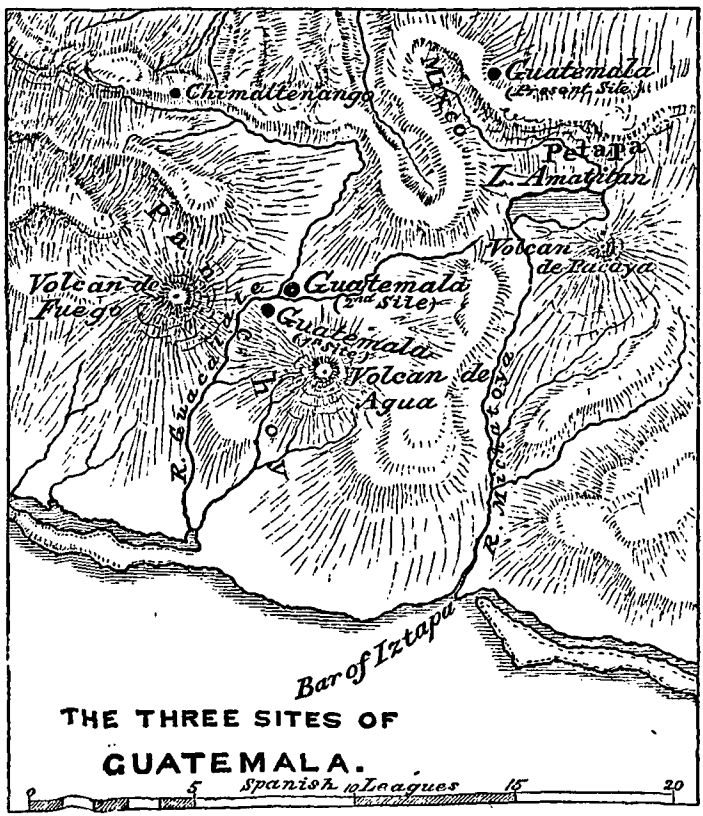
* Remesal had seen the document. See *Hist. de Chiapa y Guatemala*, lib. 4, cap. 3.

B. XV. Ch. 8.

Death of Donna Beatrice.

tion. But soon there came another shock of earthquake: the building fell asunder into pieces, and buried Donna Beatrice and all her ladies beneath its ruins. Thus ended her brief government of two days.

The daughters of Alvarado, more fortunate than their mother-in-law, when, at the first alarm,



they sought to join her, were carried away by a flood of water, which bore along with them the walls of the house, and the garden, and the orange-trees that were in it, and set them down

safely at a distance of about four bowshots from the town.*

In the midst of the horrors of that night there were some stout-hearted persons who did not lose their presence of mind, and did what they could to succour the feeble and the suffering among their fellow-citizens. Urged by the Bishop, the greater part of these brave men made their way to the Government-house, which was especially exposed to the fury of the waters, being situated at the end of the town nearest to the Volcan de Agua. But, when they had reached the abode of the unfortunate Dame Beatrice, a brindled cow, maddened with terror, forbade all ingress, making repeated charges upon the people, who, in their phrenzied fear, believed that they saw in the air the phantasms of foul demons.

The most frightful apparition was a negro of great stature, who walked upon the waters, and was seen in many parts of the city, who pitied no one, and assisted no one, however much he was implored. The imaginative may see in this negro the Genius of slavery: the cautious and prosaic will discern some maltreated Indian or negro who thought that the earthquake and the flood had come at last to revenge the cruelties inflicted on his race.

The real terrors of the night, however, were great enough, and, when the morning broke, an

* . . . . llevólas con las paredes del huerto de la casa é con los naranjos; é como las tomó el hilo del agua, llevólas bien quatro tiros de ballesta fuera de la cibdad."—OVIEDO, *Hist. Gen. y Nat. de Indias*, lib. 41, cap. 3, p. 28.

B. XV. Ch. 8.

almost unparalleled scene of devastation presented itself. The Volcan del Agua was quite altered in form, having lost a large portion of its summit. Huge stones covered the slopes of the mountain. The trees of primæval forests were in the streets. The lower lands, which had been so fertile, and the town itself, were covered many feet deep with mud. But these were not the first things which the survivors cared to notice. The father found his son dead, the brother his brother, the husband his wife, the mother her child. In all, the killed and wounded amounted to nearly six hundred persons: the town was, in parts, a heapof ruins.

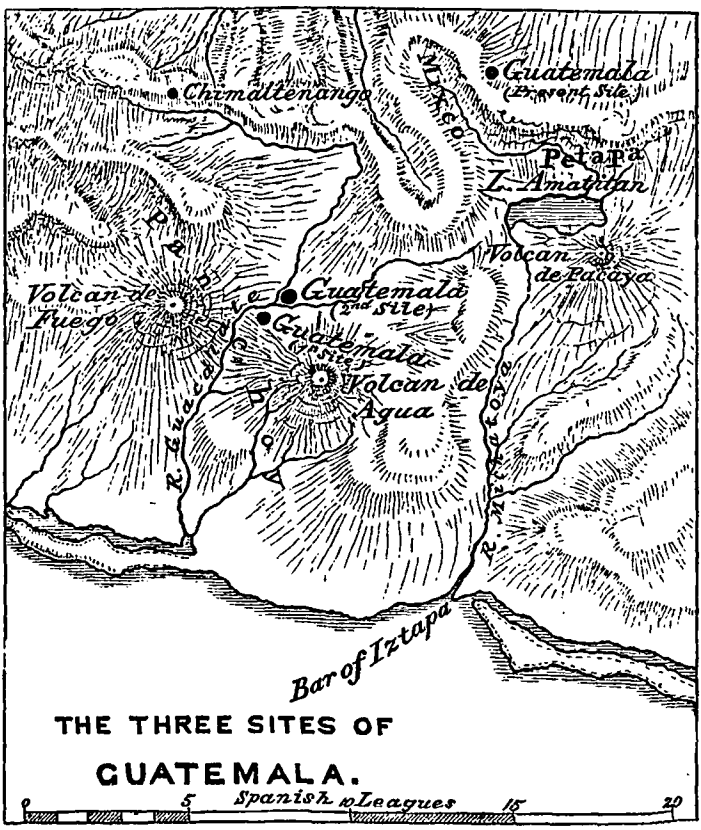
The morning after the earthquake.

It will show the influence of the good Bishop, that he contrived to persuade the people to bury Beatrice de la Cueva, though all attributed the earthquake to her blasphemy, and thought that the fate of Jezebel would have been good enough for her. The death of the *Governadora* and the partial destruction of the city rendered it necessary to renew the government. Upon the advice of the chief lawyer there, Francisco de la Cueva gave up his delegated authority, which was considered to be cancelled by the death of Beatrice. A council was summoned of all the persons connected with the government of Guatemala. Its sitting was short, for men feared that the building would come down upon them. The result of its deliberations was, that the Bishop of Guatemala and Francisco de la Cueva should be nominated as joint governors. The people, terrified at the late earthquake, began to quit the city; but this was interdicted. Then the old question

New governors nominated.

arose respecting a change in the site of the city. It was finally resolved that the site should be changed. Some thought that it should be in the valley of Petapa, and many were of opinion that it should be in that of Mixco; but so rooted were

B. XV. Ch. 8.



the majority of them to that particular locality and so desirous were they of being near their farms, that after the first alarm had worn off, they did not move to a greater distance than a league or half a league from their former position, choosing the driest part of the valley to the

Site of the city changed.

B. XV. Ch. 8.

north-east of the old town.* One circumstance that helped to confirm them in their determination was, that the Indians were accustomed to come to the Valley of Panchoy with provisions, and to render personal services, and that it might be difficult to get them to come to another spot.† At no time were the personal services of the Indians more precious than at the building of a town, for all the burdens fell upon their much-vexed shoulders. Some humanity was shown at this period by the authorities of Guatemala in limiting the weight that any Indian was to carry to two *arrobas*.‡

The 4th of December, 1543, was the day on which the Spaniards took possession of their new quarters. The former town was now called the *Ciudad Vieja*.

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* According to JUARROS (*Hist. de Guatemala*, tom. 2, trat. 6, cap. 4), a government engineer arrived most opportunely at this juncture, and it was by his advice, and contrary to the first wishes of the majority of the inhabitants, that the second site of the town was chosen. I do not give credit to this statement, notwithstanding its being supported by many probable details; and I suspect that Antoneli's report had reference to some other occasion on which a change of site was in discussion.

The investigation of the earth's surface was a study not known in those times, and the second town of Guatemala remained to be a mark for earthquakes for a hundred years, until, after the great one of 1773, a new spot was chosen, at a distance of twenty-six miles from the old city.

† . . . . y estar ya los Indios de la tierra acostumbrados á venir en aquella parte, con la provision y servicio, y fuera muy dificultoso llevarlos á otra parte." REMESAL, *Hist. de Chiapa y Guatemala*, lib. 7, cap. 2.

‡ An *arroba* is twenty-five pounds, Castillian measure. In the other provinces of Spain the weight slightly varied. See Jos. GARCIA CAVALLERO. *Breve Cotejo y Valance de los pesos, y medidas de varias naciones, &c.* Madrid, 1731.

Audiencia appointed for Guatemala.

The joint government of the Bishop and of Don Francisco de la Cueva did not subsist long, being superseded by an *Audiencia* appointed in the ensuing year, 1542, which was to govern both Nicaragua and Guatemala, and for that purpose to have its seat of government on the confines of these two provinces, on which account it was called "*La Audiencia de los Confines.*" The President named was Alonzo de Maldonado,* an Auditor of the Royal *Audiencia* of Mexico, already well known to the readers of this history as having signed, when Governor, the agreement with Las Casas and the Dominicans, by virtue of which the spiritual and peaceful conquest of "the Land of War" had been accomplished.

* Bernal Diaz, speaking of another Maldonado, describes the Governor of Guatemala as "Alonzo Maldonado the Good." —"No es este el Licenciado Alonso Maldonado el bueno, que fué Governador de Guatemala." —Cap. 196.

CHAPTER IX.

TRIUMPH OF THE DOMINICANS IN GUATEMALA — "THE LAND OF WAR" IS CALLED "THE LAND OF PEACE"—THE FINAL LABOURS AND DEATH OF DOMINGO DE BETANZOS.

B. XV. Ch. 9.

THE history of Guatemala oscillates curiously between Church and State. Now, amidst the crowd of wild men, and in the progress of strange events, a steel-clad personage stands forth pre-eminently, marshalling the order of battle; now a cowled and sandalled figure, strong only in its humbleness, is seen to prevail over enemies not less fierce, and to exercise a sway compared with which that of the warrior is poor, transitory, and superficial. Something of this kind of alternation is visible throughout the early annals of the New World, but its character is more distinctly marked in Guatemala than elsewhere. Having shown what the civil government of Guatemala had finally settled down into, our narrative returns to the deserted Dominican monastery in that city, which happily was not long left uninhabited this time, as Pedro de Angulo came back from the Chapter of his Order, which had been held in Mexico in the year 1538, bringing with him four other Dominican monks—two of whom afterwards became very celebrated for their zeal—namely,

Pedro de Angulo returns to Guatemala.

Father Juan de Torres and Father Matthias de Paz. Amongst other things for which the latter is much praised was his introduction of the use of the rosary, in order to extirpate, it is said, the superstitions* of the Indians. The private history of Father Matthias is curious. He had fled from matrimony to monastic life; and on the very day, it is said, that he was to have been married, he preferred the espousals of the Church to those other espousals "which the world so much esteems and desires."†

Return of Luis Cancér.

In the year 1542, after an absence of four years, Luis Cancér, the companion of Las Casas, returned to his monastery at Santiago, or probably to the new monastery in the new town, and joined his brother, Pedro de Angulo, bringing with him the various decrees which Las Casas had obtained in favour of the Indians of Tuzulutlan. Father Luis had also, by dint of many entreaties, persuaded a guardian of the Order of San Francisco to give him some Indians who knew how to sing and to play church music.‡

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* "De los santos fundadores hizo mucho el santo fray Matías de Paz, plantando (para extirpar sus supersticiones) la santa devocion del Rosario de la Vírgen nuestra Señora en los Indios." —FERNANDEZ, *Hist. Eccles.*, cap. 41.

† "He oydo dezir dél á persona fide digna, que conoció y trató al Padre fray Matías, que estando concertado para casarse, la noche que se avia de desposar se fué al convento de Santo Domingo de México, pidio el hábito, y le recibió, trocando estas bodas por aquellas que tanto el mundo estima y apetece, como en quien consiste su aumento y conservacion."—REMESAL, *Hist. de Chiapa y Guatemala*, lib. 3, cap. 20.

‡ The following extract will show what attention the Franciscans wisely gave to the cultivation of music amongst their new converts:—"Ogni giorno cantiamo la messa in quest

B. XV. Ch. 9.

These Indians, though doubtless they were made much of, and treated with every possible kindness, either died, or were obliged to return to their own country near the city of Los Angeles in Tlascala, for they were not able to endure the change of climate.* We may, therefore, imagine how little those Indians would be able to endure it who had to bear its effects when aggravated by ill-usage and hard work. These native choristers, however, remained sufficiently long to attach the Indians in Tuzulutlan to the chanted services of the Church.

Luis Cancér goes to see his converts in Tuzulutlan.

Father Luis did not suffer much time to elapse before he went to visit his friends in "the Land of War," and great was the delight of the converted caciques when, after an interval of four years, they saw their spiritual father again, "the standard-bearer of the Faith" (*Alférez de la Fé*).

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modo. Il sacerdote intona la messa, poi quelli gioveni cantano il resto in canti figurati, et con instrumenti, come sono organi, citare, flauti et altri instrumenti, intanto che credo che Signore niuno Christiano habbia over senta tal armonia, et sentendo questi instrumenti ci pare essere in paradiso, et sentire tanti angeli. Et à tutte l'hore del giorno quando si celebra il divino officio sempre gli sono presente piu di ottanta milia persone tra huomini e donne, et stanno li huomini separati dalle donne, et quando sentono nominare il dolce nome di Giesu se ingenochiano in terra, et quando si dice Gloria Patri, &c., se inchinano in terra, esercendo le discipline come li frati, et vedendole noi tanto humiliarsi non si potemo contenire di lachrimare per allegrezza, et di renderne infinite gratie al clementissimo signore et redentor nostro Giesu Christo che tanto in queste gia perdute gente, s' habbi degnato inalzare la sua santissima fede, et cosi al ogni hora desideriamo le V. P. esser presenti à tal devotione."— *La lettera dal* R. PADRE FRATE FRANCESCO DA BOLOGNA *al* R. P. FRATE CLEMENTE DA MONELIA, *Ministro della Provincia di Bologna.*

* "Por la diferencia tan grande de esta tierra á la suya no perseveraron." — REMESAL, *Hist. de Chiapa y Guatemala*, lib. 4, cap. 10.

They received him with triumphal arches, with dances, and with such complimentary speeches, that it appeared as if they had been taught rhetoric.* But this, as we have noticed before, is an art much cultivated by savages and partially civilized men, who have either not much work to do, or no great wish to attend to what work they have before them. What especially delighted the caciques were the letters addressed to them in the name of the Emperor; and that this is not a mere fancy of the chronicler is manifest from the fact that these letters were preserved for generations. As for Luis Cancér, his pleasure at this meeting was augmented by the solid satisfaction of finding that, during his absence, the number of inhabitants in the Christian towns had grown greater, that new towns had been founded, that good order had been maintained, that religious zeal had increased, and that these converted Indians seemed to have forgotten the old ways of their idolatry.†

The caciques delighted with the letters from the Emperor.

Indeed, it is now time to give this district of Tuzulutlan the name which it received from the

* "Que parecia avérseles infundido Rectórica para exageraciones." — REMESAL, *Hist. de Chiapa y Guatemala*, lib. 4, cap. 10.

† It is seldom that, in any account of these conversions of the Indians, we get at anything more than a vague statement of their having embraced the truths of Christianity. But, incidentally, Las Casas gives us a glimpse, in his *Historia Apologetica*, of the pains which the Tuzulutlans must have taken to master and to recollect the peculiarities of the Christian doctrine. Their way, for instance, of recalling the meaning and sound of the word "Amen" is thus described. They painted a fountain, and close to it an aloe. The word in their language for aloe was "ametl." This gave an approximation to the sound. The fountain conveyed the idea of perpetuity. Thus, by the combination of the two painted

B. XV. Ch. 9.

Tuzulutlan receives the name of Vera Paz.

Emperor, Charles the Fifth, and which it bears to the present day, of Vera Paz. Much has been said and written about the great difficulties—indeed, about the almost impossibility—of a civilized people managing aborigines successfully; but the province of Vera Paz* is a signal instance, if it be not a solitary one, of an aboriginal tribe being civilized and enlightened by their conquerors, and not being diminished in numbers nor restricted in territory.

The protectors and converters of this province had many troubles yet to undergo. Pedro de Angulo, at a subsequent period, was called before the Town Council of Guatemala to answer for the statements which he had made in order to procure for the Indians of Vera Paz the immunities which they possessed. Moreover, the licenses for the caciques to assume heraldic devices, which had been sent out from Spain for them, were seized and detained by this Council, on the ground that the royal favours had been obtained by misrepresentation. No doubt, it was thought a great indignity by the Spanish colonists, that

symbols, the meaning and the sound of the word *Amen* were retained by them. "*Acaeció algunas veces olvidarse algunos de algunas palabras ó particularidades de la doctrina que se les predica de la Doctrina Christina, y no sabiendo leer nuestra escritura, escribir toda la doctrina ellos por sus figuras y caracteres muyingeniosamente, poniendo la figura que correspondia en la voz y sonido a nuestro vocablo, asi, como digesemos 'Amen,' ponian pintada una como fuente, y luego un maguey, que en su lengua frisa con amen, porque llamanlo Ametl, y asi de todo lo demas.*" —Las Casas, *Hist. Apologetica*, cap. 235.

* The extent of the province is defined by Herrera in the following terms:—"La Provincia de la Vera-Paz, Nombre que la dieron los Religiosos Domínicos, porque la pacificaron con la Predicacion, tambien es Mediter-

these dogs of Indians should be considered as gentlemen, and be entitled to use armorial bearings; but, on the other hand, it shows great kindness on the part of the Court of Spain, that such things as heraldic insignia should have been thought of for the Indian chiefs.

Notwithstanding, however, any temporary reverses which the good Dominicans and the Fathers of the Order of Mercy, who afterwards entered the province, may have experienced, the Indians in Tuzulutlan thrived. A century afterwards, in a memorial written by an official person for the use of the Council of the Indies, it appears that the province was well populated, and consisted entirely of Indians.* At the beginning of the present century the chief town of Vera Paz contained the largest settlement of Indians throughout the kingdom of Guatemala.†

It must be allowed, even by those who have most impugned the arguments and the proceedings of Las Casas, that this province of Vera

ranea entre los Términos de Soconusco, Chiapa, Iucatan, Honduras, í Guatemala, de 30 Leguas de travesía, í otras tantas de Santiago, de Guatemala. . . . . Divide esta Provincia de la de Guatemala, el Rio de Çacatula, desde el qual se estiende hasta Golfo Dulce, adonde van á desaguar todos los Rios de ella."—HERRERA, *Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales*, cap. 12. Madrid, 1730.

* Es toda la Provincia de Indios. Está la Ciudad 30 leguas de la de Santiago de Guatemala, y tiene Convento de Religiosos Domínicos, y en su distrito ay 17 pueblos grandes con 17 Iglesias, que han edificado, con decente adorno, y lustre.—*Memorial y Noticias sacras y reales del Imperio de las Indias Occidentales.* JUAN DIEZ DE LA CALLE, *Oficial Segundo de la Misma Secretaría.* 1646, c. 4, p. 125.

† "La capital se intitula LA IMPERIAL CIUDAD DE SANTO DOMINGO COBAN: es la mayor poblacion de Indios que tiene el Reyno, pues hai en ella mas de

B. XV. Ch. 9.

Great success of the labours of Las Casas in Vera Paz.

Paz, the only one in which, even for a short time, he had his own way, affords a most favourable instance, from beginning to end, of the practical working of his system.* He himself came no more to it for many years, but we may be quite sure that he exercised a favourable influence over its destinies, whenever he was listened to at the Spanish Court.

When we consider the difficulties that a man has to encounter in acting with and upon other people; and that, to ensure a prosperous issue, many adverse conjunctures must be provided against, many vanities propitiated, many errors of his own fail to have their full effect; it seems something wondrous when any project designed

doce mil indivíduos: es sede del Alcalde Mayor, y lo fué de los Obispos de Vera Paz. Está en 15 grados 15 ms. de lat. bor., 286 gr. 30 ms. de long. á 50 leguas de Guatemala."—JUARROS, *Hist. de Guatemala*, tom. 1, trat. 1, cap. 3.

* How much Las Casas's town of Rabinal had flourished may be seen from an account given by the well-known Father Gage, who must have visited the town about the year 1630.

"The third ornament of it (the province of Vera Paz) is a town of Indians called Rabinal, of at least 800 families, which hath all that heart can wish, for pleasure and life of man. It inclines rather to heat than cold, but the heat is moderate, and much qualified with the many cool and shady walks. There is not any Indian fruit which is not there to be found, besides the fruits of Spain, as Oranges, Lemons, sweet and sour Citrons, Pomegranates, Grapes, Figs, Almonds and Dates; the only want, of Wheat, is not a want to them that mind bread of Wheat more than of Maiz, for in two days it is easily brought from the towns of Lacatepeques. For flesh, it hath beef, mutton, kid, fowls, turkeys, quails, partridges, rabbits, pheasants; and for fish, it hath a river running by the houses which yields plenty, both great and small. The Indians of this town are much like those of Chiapa of the Indians, for bravery, for feasting, for riding of horses, and shewing themselves in sports and pastimes." —THOMAS GAGE. *New Survey of the West Indies*, chap. 18, pp. 308-9. London, 1699.

by one man really does succeed in the way and at the time that he meant it to succeed. We feel as if the hostile Powers, always lurking in the rear of great and good designs, must have been asleep, or, in the multiplicity of their evil work, have, by some oversight, let pass a great occasion for the hindrance of the world.

It would not be right to bring to a conclusion this part of the history of Guatemala without mentioning what became of some of the principal personages connected with it, such as Domingo de Betanzos, Luis Cancér, and Pedro de Angulo. This last personage, who seems to have been very constant to his convent at Guatemala, and in the superintendence of his Indians at Vera Paz, was finally appointed, in the year 1556, Bishop of Vera Paz, but he did not live to enter his diocese. His memory remained for a long time among the Indians, who, forty years afterwards, were wont to quote things which they had heard him say in the pulpit. He gained their love, it is said, so much, that "they did not know where they were without him;" and one of them, afterwards, giving an account of the effect which his preaching produced, used an expressive metaphor—especially expressive in that country,—comparing the excitement in the hearts of his Indian audience to that of ants in an ant-heap when some one comes to disturb it with a stick.*

Death of Pedro de Angulo.

* "Padre (dixo) quando le oiamos, estavamos como las hormigas en el hormiguero, quando alguno llega con un bordon á escavarle."—DAVILA PADILLA, lib. I, cap. 37.

B. XV. Ch. 9.

Death of Luis Cancér. 1549.

Luis Cancér ended his days as a martyr, being put to death by the Indians of Florida, who did not perceive any difference between him and the marauding Spaniards they had been accustomed to suffer from. How seldom, again we may say, do men recognize their true friends!

The life of Domingo de Betanzos requires to be more fully narrated, not only because he was the founder of the Dominican Order in Central America, but because in itself it illustrates so aptly the feelings of the first Churchmen who followed in the steps of Cortes to achieve the spiritual conquest of New Spain and its dependencies.

Life of Betanzos resumed.

It may be remembered that when Domingo de Betanzos, in the year 1530, left his convent at Guatemala to the care of a neighbouring layman (with the key, however, in case any one should wish to pray in it), he had been summoned in all haste by the Provincial of his Order. The point of difficulty which occasioned the need for his presence was the following:—Domingo de Betanzos had founded the convent in Mexico. Now, he was originally a member of the convent of San Domingo, in Hispaniola, and on that account, the monastery at San Domingo considered the monastery in Mexico as an off-shoot of theirs, and maintained that their Provincial had a right to appoint to the monastic offices in the convent at Mexico. It is a pleasant relief to the minds of imperfect secular people, who have been almost overwhelmed by the amount of self-denial and energetic endurance which these missionary monks had manifested, to find a little worldly

feeling, if ever so little, creeping in amongst the good fathers, so that we may claim some brotherhood with them, and declare that they, too, were fallible men, like ourselves, with indestructible feelings of ambition and independence. Indeed, it was more than mortals could be expected to endure, for the monks of the great city of Mexico, with its vast territories and yet undiscovered continent, to be subject to the monastery of the ascertained and comparatively small island of Hispaniola.

The convent at Mexico wishes to be independent.

Accordingly, Domingo de Betanzos was appointed by the Mexican monks to go on a mission to the General of their Order, to seek a remedy for this grievance. A lay-brother was given him as a companion, which was fortunate, as, from the Saint's own taciturnity, we should probably have lost all record of his proceedings. When he arrived at Seville, he begged his way from door to door. The monastery, and, probably, the people of Mexico, had entrusted him with some of the curious things of the country to take to the Pope, such as images made of feathers, and medicinal stones; all which things he placed in the hands of a merchant of Seville who was going to Rome, so that he himself might be free from these temporal cares, and be able, in the course of his journey, to undertake a pilgrimage which he had much set his heart upon. His favourite saint had always been St. Mary Magdalen, and her cell (according to the belief of those times) was near

Betanzos sent by his brethren to their General at Naples. March, 1531.

B. XV. Ch. 9.

His pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Mary Magdalen, near Marseilles.

Marseilles,* for which place he bent his course. Not, however, in the manner of ordinary mortals did he betake himself to this shrine, but leagues before he arrived at it, he made his way on his knees, occupying five or six days in passing over a rugged road in this most painful fashion. When he had reached the shrine, "I come to your abode," he exclaimed, "my adored one (*devota mia*), in order that, from your perfection, you may ask your Spouse to supply my deficiencies. May I love Him with some portion of the great love with which you have loved Him. May I feel the faults which I have committed against His goodness, as you felt yours." For three days and nights Betanzos remained prostrate in devotion, uttering words of joy and humiliation. Thence he went to the church of St. Maximin, where, according to the belief of the faithful, rested the body and relics of St. Mary Magdalen, and where, again, he passed two days in a state of extasy. Hereupon, in recounting this, it came into the mind of his biographer, that mere secular persons might consider that this was a strange way of executing a mission, and so he admits it would be, unless, "as we all should know, that the first thing in the despatch of business is to pray God through the intercession of His saints;"† and he goes on to quote the

* At a celebrated solitary convent of Dominicans, called "*la Sainte Baume*," which, in the Provençal language, means the Holy Cave.

† "Sino supieramos todos, que el mejor despacho de negocios, es, pedirle á Dios por la intercession de sus santos."—DAVILA PADILLA, lib. 1, cap. 18.

remark of a shrewd man, who said that he desired to see three things in religion—"learned men humble, young men of pure manners, and monks, when employed in business, devout."* This is a wise remark; and, probably, Domingo de Betanzos lost nothing in the way of promoting his business by the reputation for sanctity that such a pilgrimage gained for him. From Marseilles he made his way to Naples, where he found that the General of his Order was very ill, in consequence of which Betanzos forbore to press forward his negotiation. The prelate, however, was not inattentive to his duties, for learning from the lay-brother how Father Domingo had travelled, he forbade him ever to make a journey on his knees again, or even bare-footed, but ordered that he should content himself with walking. The illness of the General increased, and he died some months after the arrival of Betanzos. A Chapter of the Order was summoned for the ensuing year, to elect a successor. Meanwhile, Betanzos and his lay-companion had to reside in some of the Italian convents. At last the Chapter was held, and a new General appointed, who took in hand the business which Betanzos had come to Europe for, and granted his request in favour of the Mexican convent, namely, that it should not be subordinate to any other monastery. The delay caused by these events was considerable.

B. XV. Ch. 9.

The General grants the request of Betanzos. 1532.

From Naples, Betanzos went to Rome, where

* "Á los letrados, humildes: á los moços, honestos: y á los procuradores, devotos."—Davila Padilla, lib. 1, cap. 18.

B. XV. Ch. 9.

Betanzos at Rome.

Pope Clement the Seventh received him with the utmost favour. Of all the Indian things which the merchant had brought for Father Domingo to Rome, and which the Father presented at his audiences, the Pope and Cardinals were most struck with two mitres, one of which was made of feathers, and the other of precious stones, such as turquoises and emeralds, which mitres had been used by the Mexican priests. Father Domingo had also brought the sacrificial instruments, and especially, some long instruments like razors with two edges, very sharp and brilliant.* The kind-hearted Pope mourned over the cleverness and the riches which had been so long devoted to the service of the Evil One, "at whose altars thousands of souls, made after the image of God, and redeemed with His blood, had been sacrificed." Clement was delighted to converse with such a man as Father Domingo, and ordered that he should always have free access to him. The requests which, in consequence of this favourable reception, Father Domingo was enabled to make of His Holiness, were only spiritual ones; namely, that some peculiar privilege† with regard to Confession

Father Domingo's two requests.

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* "En particular unas navajas de dos filos muy resplandecientes y vistosas, y mucho mas agudas y penetrantes con estraña subtileza."—DAVILA PADILLA, lib. 1, cap. 19.

† "Le diesse autoridad plenaria para que un sacerdote, oyda su confession general, le pudiesse absolver á culpa y á pena, como el mismo pontifice lo podia."—DAVILA PADILLA, lib. 1, cap. 19.

A friend informs me that the privilege which Betanzos obtained from the Pope was, for the priest who should hear his general confession to have plenary power of absolution. There are certain

should be granted to him, and that the festival of St. Mary Magdalen should be celebrated with an "octave," in Mexico. When Betanzos took his leave, the Pope ordered a hundred ducats to be given to him for his journey, which he immediately transferred to the merchant who had taken charge of the Indian curiosities from Seville, and after devoutly visiting the shrines of Rome, Father Domingo quitted it on his return to Mexico. B. XV. Ch. 9.

Betanzos returns to Mexico. 1534.

He arrived at Mexico in 1534, with the welcome intelligence for the Dominican monks that the Province was henceforth to be independent; and about a year afterwards he was chosen as their Provincial. His exertions in this office were very great; and he devoted himself to spreading the Faith throughout the three nations—Mexican, Mistecan, and Zapotecan. The fruit of all these efforts was, that, before a century had expired, there were no less than sixty-six monasteries in those three nations. Father Betanzos was also concerned in sending that message to Paul the Third, carried by the Dominican, Bernardino de Minaya, which probably occasioned the issuing of those Briefs before referred to, declaring absolutely the capacity of the Indians for receiving the Sacraments, and their right to be considered as free men.

Is elected Provincial. Aug. 1535.

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grievous sins which cannot be dealt with by the ordinary priest, except when the penitent is *in articulo mortis*. They are called "reserved cases," and some must be referred to the local bishop, some to the archbishop, and some to the pope himself. The humility of Betanzos is very strikingly shown by this request.

B. XV. Ch. 9.

Betanzos refuses the Bishopric of Guatemala.

The next thing that we know of Betanzos is, that he refused the Bishopric of Guatemala, which was offered to him by the Emperor, in 1534, before it was conferred upon Francisco Marroquin, the bishop whose deeds we have been reading of.

It might be thought that the life of Domingo de Betanzos had been sufficiently thorny and self-denying; but he did not think so, and, "as the hart panteth for the water-brooks," so did his soul long for an occasion of martyrdom. The life of St. Dominic, the founder of his Order, had been well studied by Betanzos, and he remembered what the Saint is reported to have said when certain heretics, who waylaid him, but had spared his life, and knelt at his feet, inquired of him what he would have done, if they had persevered in their intention to kill him. "I would have prayed you," St. Dominic replied, "not to have killed me speedily, but to have cut me to pieces bit by bit, that I might have finished my life in greater torment."

Betanzos wishes to go to China.

So, moved by a desire for martyrdom, and also, as the tenour of his life warrants us in hoping, by higher aspirations than a mere vain craving for the glories and the joys of martyrdom, Domingo de Betanzos, now an old and worn-out man, began to meditate upon a scheme of passing to the Philippine Islands to preach the Gospel there, with the further intention of penetrating into China. He communicated his project to his friend Zumarraga, the Bishop of Mexico, whose pious labours have been so often commemorated in these pages. The Bishop sought to dissuade

his friend from such a purpose, reflecting upon the loss that his absence would be to New Spain. His brethren were beyond measure attached to Betanzos; the principal men in New Spain held him in high estimation; the Indians were delighted with his disinterestedness; and the whole country reverenced him, and looked up to him as a father. These sentiments, pervading the population, afforded weighty arguments to the Bishop for engaging his friend to renounce the enterprize.* But high-souled fanaticism is infectious. The Bishop, from being an opponent, became a convert to the views of Betanzos, and soon began to desire the same enterprize himself, and to seek the means of accomplishing it. As a first step in this proceeding, he wrote to the Pope, and more than once, begging His Holiness to allow him to renounce his Bishopric; but the Pope, very wisely, would not admit of this renunciation, or hear of the voyage to China. The noble Bishop,† however, did not the less favour the enterprize of Betanzos because he was unable to partake it himself, but, on the contrary, he spoke to the Vice-Roy of Mexico about it, and asked for a ship to be placed at the disposal of Betanzos. The Vice-Roy, Mendoza, made the

* "Todos los Indios se avian satisfecho mucho de ver su desamor para con los bienes temporales."—DAVILA PADILLA, lib. 1, cap. 31.

† Zumarraga has been much blamed for destroying Mexican MSS. In a sceptical age, it is difficult to enter into the feelings of an intensely believing man. He burnt these MSS., because he thought they fostered the cruel idolatry of the Mexicans. If we had been in his place, and believed what he did, should not we have done so too?

B. XV. Ch. 9.

same objection which the Bishop had made at first, but he, too, seems afterwards to have been partially won over, for we hear that the Vice-Roy and the Bishop went many times to the monastery of Betanzos at Tepetlaoztoc, where the discourse was of God, and of what was best for His service to do in that country. We find, too, that they had special conferences about this voyage to China, the three old men shutting themselves up in an oratory in the garden, when Betanzos was wont to lay open his thoughts, the Bishop his plans, and the Vice-Roy his difficulties, in reference to this devout project.*

Conferences between the Vice-Roy, the Bishop, and Father Betanzos.

It seems not a little strange that, with all the difficulties they had before them in the country where they were, the three chief men in New Spain should be shut up together, deeply discussing a missionary enterprize to that far-off and repulsive land of China; and that two out of the three should have been anxious themselves to go. But this is no new thing, and a splendid discontent with what is near and familiar shows itself as well in saints as in sinners. It has been noted as remarkable by a most thoughtful divine,† that the study of astronomy, a thing apparently remote from the daily welfare of mankind, should have had so much attention from them as it has; and he considers the circumstance a

* "Encerrávanse los tres en el oratorio de la huerta, sin permitir el Santo que otra persona llegasse á él, y allí conferian unas vezes lo que el Obispo proponia, otras lo que el Virrey dificultava, y muchas lo que el bendito padre pensava hazer en el discurso de su viaje á la China."—Davila Padilla, lib. 1, cap. 31.

† Bishop Butler.

proof of the great destiny of man. The utility of such studies is a mere accident—a felicity which has nothing to do with the desire of man for them. The same grand neglect of the things at our feet may be seen in our own time.* Our smile, therefore, at the occupation of the Vice-Roy, of the Bishop, and of the great Dominican Monk, must not be one of self-sufficiency, but rather of fond and proud regret that men cannot confine themselves to a sphere of action which seems to them bounded, though, as in this case, it may be very large, extending over a vast territory,† and influencing the fate of unborn millions.

Discontent of mankind with the duties and labours that are near to them.

The Vice-Roy must have been won over, or silenced, for all the preparations were made for the departure of Betanzos. His vessel was ready, and the church ornaments and vestments for divine service in the Philippine Islands and China were prepared. At this point of time, however, it happened that a provincial Chapter of his Order was held, at which his projected voyage was discussed, and after being discussed, was solemnly forbidden. Two monks were sent from Mexico to bring back all the things which had been prepared for the voyage, in order to restore them to those who had given them as a cha-

Betanzos is forbidden by his Order to go to China.

* It may be seen in the fact that great minds are employed in calculating the mass of Jupiter, or determining to which star of the Pleiades our whole system is moving, while we live in a state of neglect as regards some of the chief means and functions of existence, which depresses and degrades our whole life, and renders it comparatively sordid in the first cities in the world.

† New Spain is many times larger than the mother country.

B. XV. Ch. 9.

ritable contribution for the conversion of China. Deep and poignant, no doubt, was the regret of Betanzos; but, in the true spirit of monastic obedience, he gave no sign of the disappointment that was within him, and remained apparently content, although, to use the metaphor of his biographer, the air-drawn picture, which he had made of his mission to China, had been painted out.*

Wishes to go to the Holy Land.

He now, however, adopted the much less daring and more common project of ending his days in the Holy Land. But this also was forbidden, with all respect and affection, by the Provincial of his Order. It seems that Betanzos did not conquer his craving to die in the Holy Land so well as poor Peter of Ghent had subdued his "temptation" of wishing to see his beloved Ghent again, for Betanzos appealed against the decision of the Provincial of Mexico to the General of the Dominicans at Rome, declaring, as an additional reason for his request being granted, that on his way out he would despatch brethren of his Order from Spain to New Spain, in order to carry on the work of conversion which he had begun. The General consented, the Provincial of New Spain was obliged to give way, and Domingo de Betanzos set out from Mexico in the year 1549, "carrying away with him the hearts of all men." He arrived safely at Seville, and thence made his way on foot to Valladolid, but he was not des-

Betanzos is allowed to go to the Holy Land.

* "Estava muy contento el santo fray Domingo, aunque se le avia despintado el viaje para la China." — DAVILA PADILLA, lib. I, cap. 31.

tined to make a step further on the road to the Holy Land. He was seized with a fever, which the physicians of that day called *Causon*, and finding that his end approached, he received extreme unction, invoked the favour of the saints, and especially of his much-loved Saint Mary Magdalen, for his coming journey to the great unknown land, and then, after prayer to God, no more speech remained to him. The place of his death was the Dominican monastery of St. Paul, at Valladolid.

Death of Betanzos. Sept. 1549.

It seems that Betanzos entertained the most melancholy forebodings with respect to the fate of the Indians of New Spain, for he prophesied that not many generations would pass away before travellers coming to those parts would ask, "Of what colour, then, were those Indians who lived in this country, before the Spaniards came here?"* His good works, however, helped to defeat his prophecy. And if we were asked why in Mexico there is such a large Indian population, while in Hispaniola and Cuba there is not an Indian, and while in Lima so large a part of the population is of the negro race, we must answer that this difference is due, not only to the worldly wisdom—by no means to be despised—of Cortes, of the Vice-Roy Mendoza, and their successors, but also

* "Lo que conocidamente dixo el Santo varias vezes á sus frayles, y lo que devia de llevar la carta con otras cosas, fué, que por justo juyzio de Dios, antes de muchas edades se avian de acabar totalmente los Indios desta tierra, de tal suerte, que los que de otras viniessen á ella, preguntarian de que color eran aquellos Indios que vivian en estas partes antes que los Españoles viniessen á ellas." — DAVILA PADILLA, lib. 1, cap. 33.

B. XV. Ch. 9.

Results of the labours of the monks.

to the untiring efforts of such men as Las Casas, Domingo de Betanzos, Peter of Ghent, Martin of Valencia, Zumarraga, Bishop of Mexico, Juan Garces, Bishop of Tlascala, and the various prelates and monks who laboured with or after these good men. It is a result which Christians of all denominations may be proud of and rejoice in, if we can put aside for a moment those differences in doctrine which bigots delight to dwell upon and to magnify, and not push from us those deeds which, as Christians, we ought to welcome, whether the doers of them looked up too fondly to Rome, to Wittenberg, or to Geneva.

One general remark may occur to many readers, in reference to the foregoing transactions. We are told that in the sixteenth century there was a revival throughout Europe in favour of the Papacy, which set the limits to Protestantism—those limits which exist even in the present day; but we cannot say that any such revival appears to have been greatly needed, or to have taken place, in Spain. The fervent and holy men, whose deeds have been enumerated, were in the flower of their youth or their manhood* before the Reformation had been much noised abroad; and it is evident, from the whole current of the story, that the spirit of these men was not a thing developed by any revival, but was in continuance of the spirit with which they had been imbued in their respective monasteries, amongst which the monastery of San Estevan, at Salamanca, stands

No revival of the Papal discipline needed in Spain.

* For instance, Zumarraga was born in 1468, Betanzos was born about 1486, Luther was born in 1483.

pre-eminent. All honour to their names! The earnest men in every age are a brotherhood; and a great stroke, struck in twilight, is as noble as if it were done in mid-day, flashing in the full light of the sun. Not that I mean presumptuously to insinuate that the exploits of our own age are illustrated by any mid-day splendour, but merely to suggest that we must look well to the times in which actions are done, as well as to the actions themselves, and must not suffer any contempt for what may occasionally appear to us a little childish or superstitious in these transactions in the Indies, to render us blind to the real greatness of the deeds and of the doers, when they are great.

Monastery of San Estevan renowned for its missionaries to the Indies.

The world is growing old, or fancies that it is, and consequently impatient of long stories. It would be hopeless, therefore, to demand its attention for every separate branch of discovery and conquest in that vast part of the globe which we call "the New World." It is true that each territory would probably afford some new aspect of affairs. The history of Yucatan, Florida, Venezuela, New Mexico, New Granada, or Popayan, would each doubtless illustrate some particular part of the general history. But I doubt whether any one of them would combine so much in so short a space as that of Guatemala. It gives us the spread of conquest from one of the main centres of conquest. It shows us the occupation of a new colony by the Church. It furnishes the most curious details respecting the

History of Guatemala fruitful in important events.

Extension of the Church in the colonies.

B. XV. Ch. 9.

growth and nascent polity of one of the principal Spanish cities in America. And, in the narrative of the Dominican convent at Guatemala, we have a perfect example of a missionary convent. Then Las Casas appears most opportunely on the stage; and the region known by the formidable name of the *Tierra de Guerra* becomes transformed, in name and in reality, into the *Tierra de Paz*. No one can have the slightest doubt that this remarkable circumstance would not be forgotten by Las Casas in his subsequent interviews with the Emperor and the President of the Council for the Indies; and I feel sure it had the greatest effect upon the Spanish legislation for the Indies. In the course of the narrative we have had the cause of Las Casas's going to Spain, where he is again to become a most important personage, and where his career is to culminate. The Conquerors, too, show their nature in Guatemala; and in Alvarado we have a complete specimen of the devout, cruel, forcible, restless Spanish adventurer of those days. The indirect bearings of the events in this history—the episodes, as we may call them,—are pregnant with great results, amongst which the most notable is the expedition of Alvarado to Peru, where he left behind him those men who were to be the cause of the deplorable events in that kingdom —events which are distinctly appreciable to this day.

Peaceful conquest of "the Land of War," a great argument for Las Casas at Court.

Other notable things in the history of Guatemala.

In a word, the history of Guatemala cannot well be passed over by any one who wishes to understand the complicated series of transactions

which constitute the early history of that vast extent of country which stretches from California to Chili, and includes eighty degrees of latitude on the earth's surface.

NOTE.—It is to be regretted that there are not materials for a fuller history of Guatemala during the period of the Spanish Conquest. I had hoped to have obtained copies of some of its early records which Remesal must have seen, but have been disappointed; and, indeed, the troublous state of the Republic necessarily prevents attention being given to the claims of literature.

Much work has to be done by the antiquary, the geographer, and the man of science, before an historian will be able to write such an account of this country as should satisfy himself.

The geography, for instance, is in such a state that the map-maker to this work, Mr. Morgan, and myself, after having bestowed much time and great consideration, can only offer with the greatest diffidence, the maps of Guatemala here presented, considering them as mere approximations to the truth.

Moreover, we cannot be bound by the statements of the early Conquerors as to the distances they traversed on any particular occasion. Nor can we undertake to correct their statements; for what may appear preposterous to us, with our better knowledge of the country, may still be true, and the distances mentioned by the Conquerors may actually have been the distances traversed by them. Again, the Spanish league, as it was interpreted by these men on occasions when they were suffering from want of guides, from hunger and fatigue, was a very elastic measure, and perhaps corresponded in vagueness with a German *stunde*.

To show how easy it is to be deceived in endeavouring to recal the geography of the past, I will refer to one of the reasons assigned by the historian, Fuentes y Guzmán, for placing the ancient city of the Kachiquels close to the first city built by the Spaniards. "It is contrary to common sense," he argues, "to suppose, with Vasquez, that the first conquerors, after having taken up their quarters in Guatemala, would again quit it for the purpose of encamping in a wilderness; because, if these men, who came to receive the homage and obedience of Sinacam, were peaceably received by that monarch, settled and feasted in his residence, why should they quit all these conveniences, at the hazard of incurring the ill-will of the sovereign, to found a city, and build themselves habitations, when the capital of the kingdom was at their command; to fatigue themselves in search of everything they wanted, when they could enjoy inexhaustible abundance in the city?"—JUARROS, English translation, p. 402.

This reasonable supposition is at once upset, or greatly inva-

B. XV. Ch. 9.

lidated, by a single fact—namely, that when Bernal Diaz came in Alvarado's company to ancient Guatemala, though the Indian buildings were in existence, and were noble edifices, the Spaniards, after sleeping one night in the city, went out and encamped near it for ten days. "*Passamos a dormir a la ciudad, y estavan los aposentos y las casas con tan buenos edificios y ricos, en fin como de Caciques que mandavan todas las Provincias comarcanas, y desde alli nos salimos a lo llano, y hizimos ranchos y choças, y estuvimos en ellos diez dias.*"—BERNAL DIAZ, cap. 193.

The truth is, that a city, however well built for one people, seldom suits another. The Spaniards had horses; the Guatemalans had never seen such animals; and, of course, had not provided for them in their towns.

I allude to the above controversy about the site of Guatemala, merely to point out the difficulties of reviving ancient geography, and the cautious spirit of criticism with which any such attempt should be received.

BOOK XVI.

THE CONQUEST OF PERU.

CHAPTER I.

THE EARLY LIFE AND VOYAGES OF PIZARRO.

CHAPTER II.

PIZARRO GOES TO THE SPANISH COURT—RETURNS TO PANAMA—STARTS FOR THE CONQUEST OF PERU—FOUNDS THE TOWN OF SAN MIGUEL.

CHAPTER III.

THE HISTORY, LAWS, RELIGION, AND CUSTOMS OF PERU PREVIOUS TO THE CONQUEST, AND THE STATE OF THE ROYAL FAMILY.

CHAPTER IV.

PIZARRO MARCHES FROM SAN MIGUEL TO CASSAMARCA — PROJECTED INTERVIEW BETWEEN PIZARRO AND ATAHUALLPA — ROUT OF THE PERUVIANS AND CAPTURE OF THE INCA.

CHAPTER V.

AGREEMENT FOR ATAHUALLPA'S RANSOM—FERDINAND PIZARRO'S JOURNEY TO THE TEMPLE OF PACHACAMAC—MESSENGERS SENT TO CUSCO—ARRIVAL OF ALMAGRO AT THE CAMP OF CASSAMARCA.

CHAPTER VI.

GUASCAR INCA'S FATE—ATAHUALLPA'S TRIAL—ATAHUALLPA'S EXECUTION.

CHAPTER I.

THE EARLY LIFE AND VOYAGES OF PIZARRO.

THIS history would be very imperfect without some account, however brief, of the conquest of Peru. It was in those golden regions that the narrative of the Spanish Conquest assumed its darkest and its brightest colours. The kingdoms of Mexico and Peru are the two best known, if not the two most important, centres of Indian civilization. There are other parts of America, which, from their being amongst the earliest discoveries, such as Hispaniola—or from their becoming the starting-points of remarkable expeditions, such as Cuba and the Terra Firma,—or from their being the occasional residence of those men who were most concerned in the Spanish legislation for the Indies, such as Guatemala,—require to have their histories told. But Mexico and Peru, both from their extent and from their civilization, necessarily demand a large share of our attention, as they did that of the Spanish Conquerors and of the Spanish Court.

The name that first occurs, even to most children, on the mention of the word Peru, is that of Pizarro. To the readers of this work he is already well known, as they will have noticed that he had been concerned in some of the most remarkable enterprizes in the Terra Firma. When

B. XVI. Ch. I.

Pizarro's early enterprizes.

Ojeda parted from his little band of men at San Sebastian, promising to return in fifty days, Pizarro was left in command. When Comogre's* son gave Vasco Nuñez the account of the riches of some country lying southwards, "where there was more gold than there was iron in Biscay," Pizarro, as I conjecture, was one of the eager listeners who marvelled at the oration of the naked young man, and earnestly considered his sayings. Pizarro was the second European who descended to the shore of the Pacific. Pizarro was engaged in the cruel expedition sent from Darien by Pedrarias, and commanded by Morales, which entered the territories of the warlike Cacique Birú (at the eastern end of the Gulf of San Miguel), whose name was certainly the origin of the name given by the Spaniards to the great kingdom of Peru. This was the expedition in which they stabbed their captives as they went along, hoping thus to occupy the attention of the Indians in pursuit, as the hunter would throw her cubs to a pursuing lioness. Lastly, Pizarro was the officer who, by order of Pedrarias,† arrested Vasco Nuñez—a curious and dramatic circumstance, as Pizarro was to fulfil the part which Vasco Nuñez, a far superior man, had long and sedulously prepared for.

He is sent to arrest Vasco Nunez.

In all these expeditions and transactions Pizarro makes a good figure. He is never heard of as a rebellious or contentious man, but was, I imagine, a laborious, cautious, obedient, much-

* See vol. I, p. 345.

† "What is this, Francisco Pizarro?" Vasco Nuñez exclaimed, "you were not wont to come out in this fashion to receive me."—See vol. I, p. 431.

enduring, faithful man-at-arms. Placed under Vasco Núñez, whose loss it is very sad to reflect upon at this juncture, Pizarro would have been invaluable; but, for a chief in command, he lacked statesmanlike qualities, and in dealing with his own countrymen—not with the Indians—was probably deficient in decision.* His total want of education—for he could not write his own name—must also have been a considerable hindrance and detriment to him; but his terrible perseverance compensated for all other defects, in so far as the mere discovery and conquest of the great country of Peru were concerned. It was most unfortunate, indeed, for the world that this perseverance of his was so great, for had the conquest of Peru been postponed but a few years, it would probably have met with a more consolidated state of affairs in that kingdom, and, therefore, ultimately have been a more effective conquest, as it seems that a certain amount and quality of opposition in the resisting body is needful to call out the greatest amount of vigour and enlightenment in the attacking force. But it is useless to waste time in much regret for what might have been, and so we may proceed, at once, to that which is considered as the main starting-point of the conquest, being a clearly-defined, and, indeed, a legal transaction.

Pizarro's character as seen in his early enterprizes.

His want of education.

His untoward perseverance.

At Panamá, under the capricious sway of Pedrarias, there were two friends whose amity was so close, and their interests so bound up together,

* "Pizarro, dice Herrera, aunque era astuto y recatado, pero en la mayor parte fué de ánimo suspenso, y no muy resoluto."—Note in Appendix to QUINTANA.

B. XVI. Ch. 1.

that they are described as having had only one mind, though being two persons. Their friendship and their partnership are depicted by the historian, Oviedo, who knew them well, in terms which recal the intimate affection and community of interests that existed between two other and very different partners who have been mentioned in this history, Las Casas and Rentería.

A partnership at Panamá.

Both of the friends at Panamá were warlike, and accustomed to labour. They were both of them utterly ignorant. They were both anxious to improve their fortunes. There was, however, that diversity of character in the friends, which seems to be a necessary element for the completeness of a friendship. One was slow, taciturn, and with no especial dexterity in the management of affairs. This was Francisco Pizarro. The other was alert, impulsive, generous, and wonderfully skilled in gaining the hearts of men. This was Diego de Almagro. Their birth and parentage, though very dissimilar, were not unequal as regards the gifts of fortune. Pizarro was the illegitimate* son of an *hidalgo*, and had come "with his sword and cloak," his only possessions,† to

Pizarro's character.

Almagro's character.

Pizarro's parentage.

* "In Germany, and with us, (who derive many of our customs and political opinions from the Germans), bastardy was always a circumstance of ignominy. But in Spain, Italy, and France, bastards were in many respects on an equal footing with legitimate children. During the first and second races of the kings of France no difference appears to have been made between their legitimate and illegitimate offspring." — See HARGRAVE and BUTLER'S edition of *Coke upon Littleton* [243, b.] note (2).

† I put aside the story of his being suckled by a sow, and being employed, as a boy, in tending his father's swine,—as well as other stories having the aspect of fables.

find a way to fortune in the New World. Almagro was the son of a labouring man, with no taint, however, of Moorish or of Jewish blood, bred up in a town belonging to the Order of Calatrava.* Impatient of a labourer's life, he had taken service with a Licentiate who resided at the Court of Ferdinand and Isabella. It happened that Almagro had a quarrel with another youth, upon "some matter of that kind which youths are wont to quarrel about" (I suppose the pedantic historian means a love affair). He stabbed his rival, and the wounds were such that Almagro, "although his master was an *alcalde*," did not dare to await his trial, but fled from justice, and wandering in a vagabond way, hither and thither, finally came to the Indies, and was one of the soldiers employed under Pedrarias Davila. He, as well as Pizarro, received a *repartimiento* of Indians, and these they worked together, dividing the gains.

Almagro's parentage.

They afterwards took into partnership a very different person from themselves, named Fernando de Luque, a *clerigo* and a schoolmaster. This *clerigo* was a favourite of the Governor Pedrarias, and had a much better *repartimiento* than the other partners, situated close to theirs, on the bank of the river Chagre, four leagues from Panamá. The resources of De Luque, the steady management of Pizarro, and the keen activity of

De Luque taken into partnership.

* "Há pocos años que conoscemos á Diego de Almagro, natural de la villa de Almagro en España, ques una villa de la Orden de Calatrava (ó de una aldea de aquella república), hijo de un labrador é nieto de otros, sin mezcla de otras estirpes de moros ni judíos, sino de chripstianos viejos, agrícolas é hombres que por sus sudores é trabaxos viven."—OVIEDO, *Hist.*, lib. 47.

B. XVI. Ch. I.

Almagro, made the partnership a prosperous concern. By their cattle-farms they realized fifteen or eighteen thousand *pesos* of gold; and well would it have been for all of them, had they been contented to remain as thriving country gentlemen. But it is very difficult to be contented with a quiet career, however prosperous, when all around is bustle and activity, and when the very air is full of rumours of great adventure. Accordingly, the partnership was extended from cattle-farming to the search after new and gold-producing territories. In a word, they undertook the conquest of Peru. It has been discovered in modern times that there was also a silent partner, the Licentiate Espinosa, on whose behalf, it appears, De Luque furnished the funds.

Espinosa a silent partner.

The agreement between the partners was, that the division of profits should be equal. The division of labour is well stated by GARCILASO DE LA VEGA, when he says, "that Fernando de Luque was to remain in Panamá, to take care and make the most of the property of the three associates; Pizarro was to undertake the discovery and conquest; Almagro was to go and come, bringing supplies of men and arms to Pizarro, and then returning to de Luque, thus making himself the medium of communication between Panamá and Peru."* This company was much laughed at then, and the schoolmaster got the name of *Fernando el loco* (Fernando the Madman),

* The date of the agreement is March 10, 1526; but this, to use an expression of QUINTANA's, was the date when it was *formalizada*. It had existed practically for some time before.

though the triumvirate was afterwards compared to the memorable Roman one of Lepidus, Mark Antony, and Octavius.* It was remarked at the time, and intended to be a sarcasm, that these Spanish triumvirs were all elderly† men; but the remark was not a very wise one, for it has never been found that ambition or the love of novelty dies out of the human heart at any certain age. All men, too, are but children in those things which they have not experienced; and not one of the three associates had been what he would have called a successful man. The disappointed are ever young;—at least, they are as anxious to undertake new things as the most hopeful amongst the young. Moreover, the principal partner, Pizarro, was haunted by a fixed idea—namely, the discovery of rich regions in the southern seas; to which idea advancing years only lent a fiercer aspect, as they narrowed him in, and left less and less time for its development.

The voyage of Pizarro is only second in interest to that of Columbus himself. There may have been voyages in the history of the world, more im-

* Other persons were obliged to sign the agreement for Pizarro and Almagro, as they could not write their names.—"Y porque no saben firmar el dicho cápitan Francisco Pizarro y Diego de Almagro, firmaron por ellos en el registro de esta carta Juan de Panés y Alvarado del Quiro, á los cuales otorgantes yo el presente escribano doy fé que conozco. Don Fernando de Luque.—Á su ruego de Francisco Pizarro, Juan de Panés; y á su ruego de Diego de Almagro, Alvaro del Quiro."—QUINTANA, *Vidas de Españoles Célebres. Apéndices á la vida de Francisco Pizarro*, p. 174.

† Pizarro was born in or about the year 1470, at Truxillo, in Estremadura. See *Varones Ilustres del Nuevo Mundo*, p. 128. Madrid, 1639.

B. XVI. Ch. I.

portant and more interesting than that of Pizarro, but if so, the details of them have been lost. The voyage of Cortes, from Cuba to the coast of Mexico, was but a slight affair in the history of that man's remarkable proceedings; but in Pizarro's life, the voyage is the greatest part of the career.

Pascual de Andagoya's expedition. 1522.

Pizarro had his predecessors. The story of Vasco Nuñez de Balboa has already been told. A follower, at a humble distance, in the same enterprize of discovery, was Pascual de Andagoya. This captain, with the permission of Pedrarias, undertook a voyage in the "Sea of the South," in the year 1522. He had an encounter with the natives of Birú, and, it is said, reduced seven of the lords of the country into obedience to the King of Spain. He gained additional knowledge of the coast, which knowledge he afterwards imparted to Pizarro. Meeting, however, with an accident which disabled him, he returned to Panamá. The attention of the Governor, Pedrarias, was, at that time, given to the conquest of Nicaragua, for which he was fitting out his Lieutenant, Hernandez de Córdova. The idea, however, of an expedition to Peru was not abandoned: and a certain captain, named Juan Basurto, to whom Pedrarias was under obligation for his having brought men and horses to aid in the Nicaraguan conquest, was appointed to take the command of an expedition to Peru. This man died. Pizarro and Almagro then came forward to undertake the expedition. Their offer, aided by the powerful representations of Fernando de Luque, was accepted. Pedrarias became a partner in the

enterprize, and was to receive a fourth of the profits. B. XVI. Ch. I.

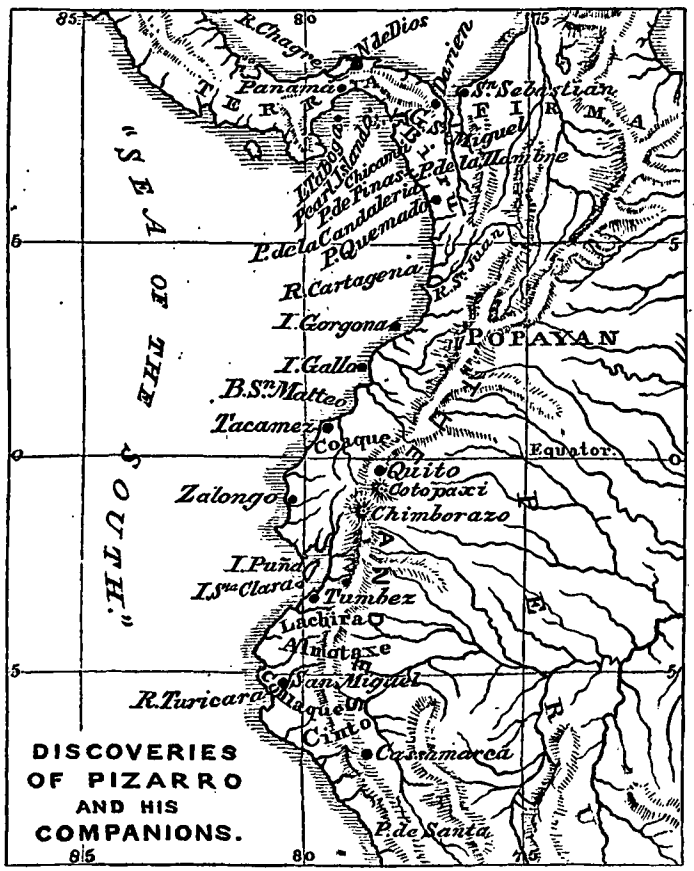
The preparations for the outfit were commenced in 1524. A vessel was bought, which, it is said, had been built by Vasco Nuñez de Balboa; and another was put upon the stocks. The expenses were very great. Each shipwright received two golden *pesos* a day, and his food. Wages of a shipwright 9*s.* 4½*d.* Moreover, it was not possible to go into the market-place, or down upon the sea-shore, and enlist at once as many soldiers or sailors as might be wanted; but the partners had gradually to form their complement of men, providing food and lodgment for them when hired, watching for new comers from Castille, taking care of them in the illnesses to which they were liable on first coming into the country, and advancing them small sums of money,* probably to clear them from debt. At last the preparations were complete. The three partners, Pizarro, Almagro, and De Luque, heard mass together, and rendered the compact more solemn by each partaking of the sacrament: and, about the middle of November, 1524, Pizarro set sail in one vessel, with two canoes, containing eighty men and four horses. Pizarro sets sail, Nov. 1524. A treasurer, Nicolas de Rivera, and an inspector, Juan Carillo, who was to look after

* "En todo ese tiempo procuraron alistar gentes, manteniendo á todos de maiz y carne, y además dando posada á los que venian de Castilla ó islas. Fuera deso se socorrió á muchos, á quien con 50—100 pesos, etc."—*Informacion hecha en Panamá á 14 de Diciembre de 1526 á pedimento del Capitan* DIEGO DE ALMAGRO. *Doc. Inéd.*, tom. 26, p. 257. This valuable document has only recently been brought to light.

B. XVI. Ch. I.

the King's fifths, accompanied the expedition. Almagro was to follow in the other vessel, with more men and provisions.

Pizarro touched at the island of Taboga, took in wood and water at the Pearl Islands, and arrived



at the Puerto de Piñas. From thence he made an expedition into the Cacique Birú's country. This was a land which, from its rough and difficult nature, was very difficult to conquer or to occupy. It was a great error to have stopped there at all:

Enters the Cacique Birú's country.

but probably Pizarro did not wish to go too far, for fear of missing the promised reinforcement that was to come with Almagro.

For the most part, a desert or deserted country met the eyes of the Spaniards. Toiling under the weight of their armour, with feet wounded by the stony ways, and suffering incredibly from hunger, they found nothing worthy of all this suffering, and returned to their ships. Thence they proceeded ten leagues down the coast, until they arrived at a port which they called *Puerto de la Hambre*, the Port of Hunger. Nothing was to be got there but wood and water. Having taken in these necessaries, they proceeded on their voyage. For ten successive days they sailed on, apparently without being able to land, or seeing anything which should induce them to do so. Meanwhile, the provisions they had brought with them were growing less and less; and, finally, the rations appointed for each man were but two ears of maize a day. Water also began to fail them. The more impatient of the crew talked of returning to Panamá. Pizarro, with a power of endurance and a mildness that belonged to his character, and which he must often have seen exercised by Vasco Nuñez under similar circumstances, did his best to console his men, and to encourage them by the high hopes that steadily remained before his wistful eyes. They turned back, however, and made their way to the *Puerto de la Hambre*. Each man was shocked at the flaccid, disfigured, hungry-looking companions by whom he was surrounded; nor was there anything in

Pizarro arrives at the *Puerto de la Hambre*.

He proceeds down the coast.

Returns to the *Puerto de la Hambre*.

B. XVI. Ch. I.

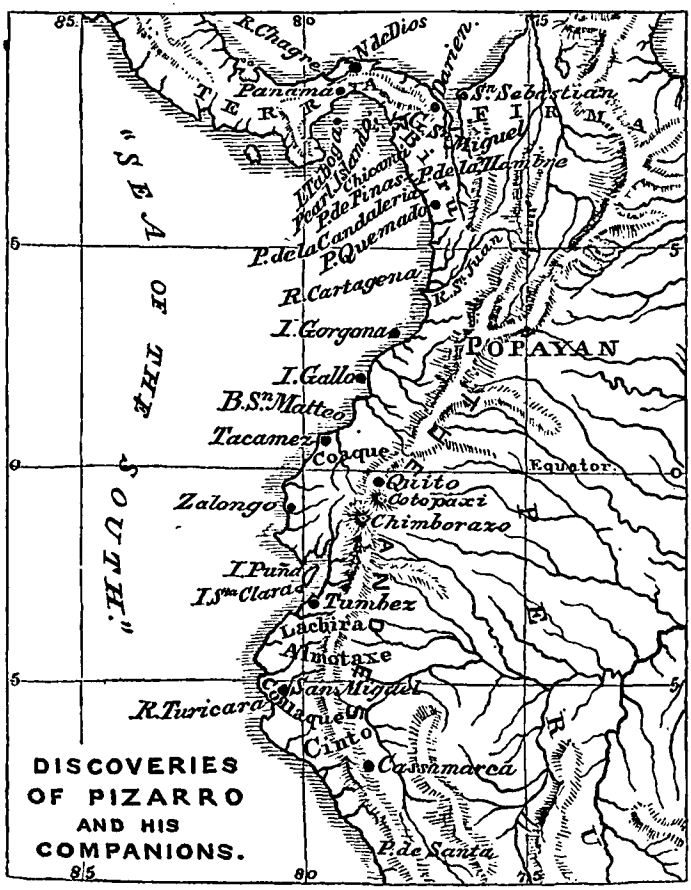
the appearance of the country to console these wretched mariners, for they could see no animals, no birds even, nothing but *sierras*, rocks, forests, and morasses. They did not, however, altogether lose heart, and it was resolved that they should stop at this deplorable *Puerto*, and send back the ship to the Pearl Islands, to seek for provisions. The command of the vessel was given to a man of the name of Gil de Montenegro. Neither for those who stayed, nor for those who accompanied Montenegro, were there any provisions but the dried hide of a cow, and the bitter palm-buds which are gathered on that coast. This was the same food that Pizarro had known in early days, when he acted as Ojeda's lieutenant at Urabá.

The miserable men who were left at the *Puerto de la Hambre* did what they could to find the means of life. Now and then, they caught a few fish, or discovered a few wild fruits; but hunger, that never sleeps, was upon them. Twenty of them soon died. Pizarro was always alert in endeavouring to provide any sustenance, however wretched, for his sick men; and his constant mind betrayed not the slightest sign of being overcome by adversity. In labours and dangers he was ever the first.

Pizarro and his men suffer from famine.

Several of the men declared that they perceived something at the distance of about eight leagues, which glittered in the sun. A soldier of the name of Lobato begged that he might be sent to examine this bright spot. Pizarro, however, would not give to any one else this labour, but taking with him the least exhausted of his men,

went forth to reconnoitre in the direction where the brightness was visible. They arrived at a part of the shore where they found many *cocao* trees, and where they also saw several of the natives. Two of them they captured, and, what



was better still, they found a hundred-weight of maize. The Indians rather pointedly inquired (how their sayings were interpreted does not appear), "Why the strangers did not sow and reap, instead of coming to take other people's provisions,

B. XVI. Ch. I.

and suffering such hardships to do so." It is to be noticed that these Indians had poison for their arrows. The Spaniards saw a man die of a wound in four hours. Had the herb from which this poison is distilled been found lower down the coast, upon the broad plains beyond Tumbez, the conquest would hardly have been made in that generation.

As Pizarro and his men were returning from this expedition, which did not bear much fruit, they met with one of their companions, who brought news that Montenegro had returned from the Pearl Islands with some provisions. This Spaniard had with him three loaves of bread and four oranges, which Pizarro divided equally amongst the whole company, who had not had such a meal for many a day. The number of Spaniards who died of hunger at the *Puerto de la Hambre*, was twenty-seven.

They start again from the *Puerto de la Hambre.*

The whole body now recommenced their voyage, and brought up in a port which they called the "*Puerto de la Candaleria*," because it was "the day of Our Lady"* when they arrived there. They had not, however, changed their position for the better. The climate was so humid that their wide-flapped hats fell in pieces, and the linen vests which they wore over their armour soon grew rotten. The forests were for the most part too dense to be penetrated. The annoyance from mosquitos was insupportable.†

* Feast of the Purification. Candlemas Day,—Feb. 2.

† "La pesadumbre de los mosquitos era incomportable."—HERRERA, *Hist. Gen. de las Indias*, dec. 3, lib. 6, cap. 13.

Pizarro persevered. The Spaniards found ways through the wood; and at two leagues from the shore came upon a small Indian town. It had just been deserted. They found, however, some golden ornaments; also some maize, roots, and the flesh of swine; and, in the vessels at the fire, there were the feet and hands of men, by which the Spaniards knew that they were in the country of Caribs. They did not stay at this uninviting spot, but went down the coast to another place, which they called the "*Pueblo Quemado.*" At a league from the shore, they came upon a deserted Indian town, situated on an eminence, and having the appearance of a fortress. They found also plenty of provisions here. The town being near the sea, well placed for defence, and well provisioned, it seemed to Pizarro and his men that they might prudently make a station here. Their only vessel leaked, and they resolved to send it back to Panamá to get it repaired. Meanwhile, Pizarro ordered Gil de Montenegro to make an incursion, in order to secure the persons of some of the Indians. The natives, however, had been watchful of the movements of the Spaniards. They attacked Montenegro and his party, intending afterwards to fall upon the body of men who had remained with Pizarro in the town, whom the Indians conjectured to be the sick. These Indians were naked, but their bodies were painted, some red, some yellow. With loud shouts, a large body of them attacked Montenegro's party. They did not venture to come to close quarters, but succeeded in killing with

They arrive at the *Pueblo Quemado.*

The Indians attack Montenegro.

B. XVI. Ch. I.

their darts two of the Spaniards, and wounding others. On the other hand, Montenegro's men committed great slaughter on the naked bodies of their adversaries. The Indian army changed its tactics, retired or fled before Montenegro, and, knowing the country better than he did, came down upon Pizarro and his few followers in the town. Pizarro, an able man-at-arms, withstood the attack bravely, and made himself a general mark for the Indians. They pressed upon him, wounded him, and he fell down a steep descent. They followed, but before they could kill Pizarro, he was upon his legs again, and able to defend himself. Some of his men rushed to his assistance. The Indians, astonished at the valour of the Spaniards, and awed, it is said, by the silence with which they fought, began themselves to fight less fiercely, when the arrival of Montenegro and his men assured the fortune of the day, and compelled the enemy to take to flight.

The Indians attack Pizarro, but are repulsed.

Pizarro and his men dressed their wounds in the strange manner that was commonly adopted by soldiers in that day, applying hot oil to the wounded part. They then resolved to quit the *Pueblo Quemado*, finding that the Indians were too many for them. Throughout this extraordinary voyage the Spaniards were not fortunate enough to come upon any Indian settlement that was suitable for them. Sometimes there were too many Indians in the vicinity; more often, there were too few.

Pizarro and his men embarked, and going back towards Panamá, arrived at Chicamá. This

Pizarro leaves the *Pueblo Quemado*,

was in the government of the Terra Firma. From thence they sent the treasurer of the expedition, Nicolas de Rivera, in their vessel with the gold they had found, to give an account to the Governor Pedrarias of what they had done and suffered, and of the hopes they still had of making some great discovery. Meanwhile, they remained at Chicamá, a humid, melancholy, sickly spot, where it rained continually.

and returns to Chicamá.

Almagro, always active, had not forgotten his part of the undertaking; and, starting three months after Pizarro had set out, came in search of him with the other vessel belonging to the associates. When Nicolas de Rivera brought up at the Island of Pearls, he learned that Almagro had passed, and he sent to Pizarro to inform him of this joyful intelligence. Proceeding to Panamá, Rivera informed Pedrarias of what had happened. The Governor was angry when he heard of the death of the many Spaniards who had already perished in the expedition. He blamed Pizarro for his pertinacity; and the schoolmaster, De Luque, had much difficulty in preventing the Governor from joining another person in command with Pizarro.

Almagro commences his voyage.

Meanwhile, Almagro pursued his way down the coast, making diligent search for Pizarro. The only traces he could find of him were the marks of the Spanish hatchets, where the men had landed to cut wood. At last, he made an entrance into that part of the country which had already been so unfortunate for the Spaniards—

B. XVI. Ch. I.

in the neighbourhood of the *Pueblo Quemado*. He found this town inhabited and fortified with palisades. He resolved to take it, and accordingly, commenced the attack with great vigour. The Indians defended themselves obstinately. Almagro was wounded in the right eye by a dart, and was so pressed upon by the Indians, that he would have been left for dead, if he had not been rescued by a negro slave of his. Notwithstanding his sufferings he renewed the contest, and, at last, succeeded in gaining the place. His men were greatly distressed at the accident which had befallen their leader. They placed him on a litter made of branches of trees, and when the pain was assuaged, they bore him back to his vessel.

Almagro arrives at the *Pueblo Quemado*, and there encounters the natives.

Again they proceeded on their voyage, and arrived at the river of San Juan, where the country seemed better than any they had passed, and where, on both banks of the river, there were Indian settlements. They did not venture to land, however, and resolved to return to Panamá. Touching at the Island of Pearls on their way back, they learnt that the treasurer, Rivera, had passed that way, and had left word that Pizarro was at Chicamá. Almagro's delight at hearing this was great. He had supposed that his companion was dead. He returned to Chicamá and found him. The two commanders recounted their misfortunes to each other, but resolved to persevere in their undertaking. It was arranged that Almagro should return to Panamá, while Pizarro was to maintain his men in the melancholy spot where he then was.

Almagro arrives at the River San Juan.

Returns, and finds Pizarro at Chicamá.

Almagro at Panamá.

Almagro found Pedrarias very ill-disposed towards the expedition. He was at that time about to enter Nicaragua in order to chastise his lieutenant, Francisco Hernandez de Córdova, and was not inclined to spare any more men for the expedition to Peru. Again, however, De Luque persuaded Pedrarias not to withhold his licence for the levy of more men, though the Governor remained still so much displeased with Pizarro, that he would not leave him the sole leader of the enterprize, but joined Almagro with him in the supreme command. Almagro, with two ships, and two canoes, with arms, provisions, and a pilot named Bartolomé Ruiz, set sail from Panamá, and joined Pizarro at the place where he had left him. Pizarro felt deeply the slur cast upon his command, by Almagro's being joined with him in it, and this has been considered* to have been the commencement of the ill feeling between the two friends.

Almagro rejoins Pizarro, and brings succour.

The enterprize was prosecuted with renewed vigour. The two commanders went down the coast, and arrived at a river, which they called the River Cartagena, near to the San Juan. Thence they made a sudden attack upon one of the towns on the River San Juan, in which they were successful, for they captured some Indians, and took some gold, weighing fifteen thousand *pesos*, of an inferior description. They also found provisions there. Returning to their ships, they determined to divide their forces. Almagro was to return to Panamá for more men. Bartolomé Ruiz, the

Pizarro and Almagro set sail from Chicamá.

* See QUINTANA'S *Life of Pizarro.*

B. XVI. Ch. I.

pilot, was to prosecute discovery along the coast. Pizarro was to remain with his men where they were.

Bartolomé Ruiz goes down the coast as far as Zalongo.

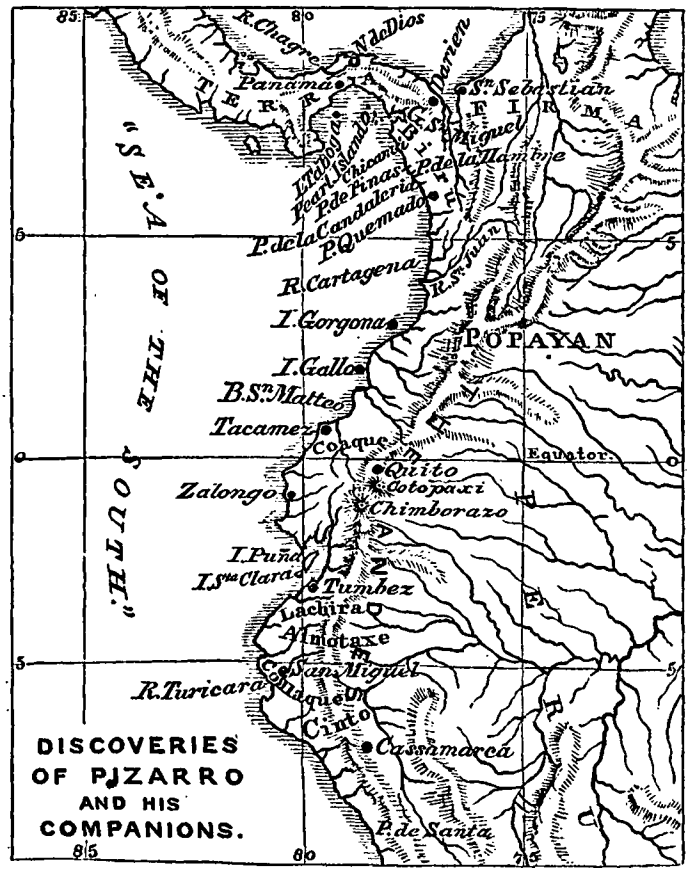
These resolutions were immediately carried into execution. Bartolomé Ruiz, a very dexterous pilot, was exceedingly successful in his share of the enterprize. He discovered the Island of Gallo, went on to the Bay of San Mateo, and thence to Coaque. Still pursuing his course in a south-westerly direction, he descried, to his great astonishment, in the open sea, a large object which seemed like a caravel, and had a lateen sail. He made for this object, and discovered that it was a raft. He captured it,* and found two young men and three women. Interrogating them by signs, he ascertained that they were natives of a place called Tumbez. They spoke many times of a king, Huayna Capac, and of Cusco, where there was much gold. Bartolomé Ruiz went on, passed the equinoctial line, and arrived at a town called Zalongo. From thence he returned to Pizarro.

This commander and his men needed all the comfort that Ruiz could give them by the favourable intelligence which he brought. It was always the business of Pizarro patiently to endure great suffering, and to sustain the men

* Almagro afterwards gave an account to Oviedo of various things that were found on board this Peruvian vessel, and they were such as greatly to increase the confidence of Almagro in the ultimate success of his undertaking. There was pottery on board, and woollen cloths of exquisite workmanship, also silver and gold; and the crew spoke of carrying with them a test-stone for gold, and a steel-yard for weighing it and other metals.

under his command in the most abject kind of adversity. During the absence of Bartolomé Ruiz, they had suffered from sickness, from extreme hunger, from constant wetness; they had been unceasingly plagued by mosquitos, and had been attacked, and some of them de-

Pizarro's sufferings during the absence of his comrade.



voured, by *caymans*. The Indians had not left them unmolested, and fourteen of the Spaniards had been slain in an encounter with the natives.

It was now far advanced in the year 1526,

B. XVI. Ch. 1.

and Pedro de los Rios had arrived to supersede Pedrarias.* Diego de Almagro found favour with the new Governor, so far as to gain his permission to enlist soldiers. Having enlisted about forty, and having obtained the requisite provisions, he set sail from Panamá, and joined Pizarro at the River San Juan. He found the men, whom he had left there, looking flaccid and yellow, their countenances telling clearly the sufferings that

Almagro rejoins Pizarro at the San Juan.

* It was about this period that Pedrarias quitted the partnership. The narrative of this event given by Oviedo is extremely curious. The historian was one day going through some accounts with the Governor, previous to his *residencia* being taken, when Almagro entered, and said "Señor, already your lordship knows that in this *armada* to Peru you are a partner with Captain Francisco Pizarro, and with the *Maestrescuela*, Don Fernando de Luque, my companions, and with me, and that you have not put anything in it, and that we are lost men, and have spent our estates and those of our friends." This was the beginning of the speech. Almagro proceeded to ask for cattle and money, in order to continue the enterprize, or that Pedrarias would at least pay what was due upon his share, and leave the concern. Pedrarias very angrily replied, "It is evident that I am quitting the government, as you speak to me thus;" and he proceeded to say, that if it were not so, Pizarro and Almagro should give an account of the lives of the Spaniards which had been lost in their expeditions.

Pedrarias, however, instead of agreeing to pay anything, demanded four thousand *pesos* as his price for ceasing to be a partner, although Almagro had charged him with having contributed only one she-calf in the course of the enterprize. Finally, after some angry bargaining, Pedrarias consented to give up all his claim for a thousand *pesos*, to be paid him at a certain date. An agreement was drawn up in these terms, and Oviedo was one of the witnesses: ("Yo fuy uno de los testigos que firmámos el assiento é conviniença, é Pedrarias se desistió é renunçió todo su derecho en Almagro é su compañía."—Oviedo, *Hist. Gen. y Nat. de las Indias*, lib. 29, cap. 23.)

This conversation is remarkable as showing the extreme confidence which, even at a time of great depression and disappointment, Almagro had in the ultimate success of his undertaking.

they had endured amidst the mangroves of that ill-fated spot.

The voyage recommenced.

They all re-embarked, intent upon prosecuting the discovery which Bartolomé Ruiz had already commenced. They stopped at the Island of Gallo, to refit, passed the Bay of San Mateo, and went down the coast to a town called Tacamez. The Indians at this place were not friendly. They asked why these strangers came amongst them, taking their gold, making captives of their women, and robbing them in every way. One or two small skirmishes took place, with no loss on the Spanish side, and very little on the part of the Indians.

They arrive at Tacamez.

At this point of the enterprize there was hesitation as to their future course, and discussion as to what should be done. It is said that Pizarro was for returning, while Almagro was for pursuing the plan that had already been so often adopted, namely, that he should return for more men to Panamá. He was entirely against their dying in prison for the debts they had already contracted. Pizarro, on the other hand, said that Almagro had not suffered from hunger, as he had done, and that, if he had, he would be of the opinion that they should all return to Panamá. Upon this, Almagro offered to change places, suggesting that Pizarro should go for succour, while he remained to take charge of the men. This offer provoked rather than soothed his comrade. High words passed between them, and swords were drawn. At this juncture, the treasurer, Rivera, and the pilot, Bartolomé

Discussion as to their future proceedings.

B. XVI. Ch. I.

Ruiz, interposed; the old friends were reconciled, and embraced one another; and, finally, the proposition of Almagro was agreed upon. Returning to the Bay of San Mateo, it was resolved that Pizarro and his men should stay in the Island of Gallo, while Almagro returned again to Panamá.

Pizarro to stay at the Island of Gallo; Almagro to return to Panamá.

The two captains, Pizarro and Almagro, though their proceedings hitherto had been anything but successful, were firmly bent upon continuing their enterprize. But the common soldiers were not of that mind, and, when Almagro returned, a certain man called Seravia, contrived to send to the Governor at Panamá a petition concealed in a ball of cotton, in which he gave an account of their losses by death, and of their sufferings, and concluded his petition with some words which afterwards obtained a great renown in the Indies, and were in the mouths of all men there :—

"Pues Señor Governador,
Mírelo bien por entero,
Que allá va el Recogedor,
Y acá queda el Carnicero." *

This poetical petition found favour with the new Governor of Panamá, Pedro de los Rios, who had now superseded Pedrarias. Accordingly, he sent a lawyer named Tafur to the Island of Gallo, to authorize the return of all those men under Pizarro's command who wished to make their way back to Panamá. Under

The Governor authorizes the return of Pizarro's men.

* These doggrel verses, rather liberally translated, run thus :—

"My good Lord Governor,
Have pity on our woes;
For here remains the butcher,
To Panamá the salesman goes."

these circumstances it was not to be expected that Almagro would be able to gain any new recruits. The enterprize, therefore, now looked most hopeless; and the little boys in the streets, seldom friendly to schoolmasters, had good reason for shouting out loudly the addition which had been already made by their elders to the name of the schoolmaster Fernando de Luque. Meanwhile, the Governor's representative, Tafur, reached the Island of Gallo, and the greater part of Pizarro's company prepared to depart.

Constancy of purpose in the partners.

Although Almagro and De Luque had not been able to dissuade the Governor from sending Tafur, they wrote a letter to Pizarro, urging him in the strongest terms not to abandon the enterprize, and begging him to strive to the uttermost rather than return to Panamá.* Pizarro, as might have been expected, was of the same mind with his partners. He addressed some words to his men, which Herrera justly describes as characterized by a singular modesty and constancy,†—and, the historian might have added,

Pizarro's speech to his men.

* "El Maestrescuela Hernando de Luque y Diego de Almagro, escrivieron á Francisco Piçarro, que aunque supiesse reventar, no bolviesse á Panamá, pues via quan perdidos, y afrentados quedarian sino llevassen adelante aquel descubrimiento." — HERRERA, *Hist. de las Indias*, dec. 3, lib. 10, cap. 3.

† Well might Sir Walter Raleigh exclaim, "Here I cannot forbear to commend the patient virtue of the Spaniards: we seldom or never find that any nation hath endured so many misadventures and miseries as the Spaniards have done in their Indian discoveries; yet, persisting in their enterprizes with an invincible constancy, they have annexed to their kingdom so many goodly provinces, as bury the remembrance of all dangers past.—Tempest and shipwrecks, famine, overthrows, mutinies, heat and cold, pestilence and all manner of diseases, both old and new, together with extreme poverty, and want of all things needful,

B. XVI. Ch. I.

by great prudence also. Pizarro said, that those who wished to return, should, by all means, do so; but that it grieved him to think that they were going to endure greater sufferings and worse poverty than they had already endured, and to lose that which they had so long toiled for, as he did not doubt that they were on the point of discovering something which would console and enrich them all. He then reminded them of what those Indians had said whom Bartolomé Ruiz had captured. Finally, he observed that it gave him very great satisfaction to reflect that in all they had undergone, he had not excused himself from being the principal sufferer, contriving that he should rather want than that they should,—and so, he said, it would always be.

The dire pressure, however, of recent suffering, and a hungry desire to see home again, were too strong to be overcome by the wise and encouraging words of Pizarro. The men accordingly begged Tafur to take them away with him immediately. This lieutenant, however, pitying the straits to which Pizarro was reduced, gave him a chance of

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have been the enemies wherewith every one of their most noble discoverers, at one time or other, hath encountered. Many years had passed over their heads, in the search of not so many leagues; yea, more than one or two have spent their labour, their wealth, and their lives, in search of a golden kingdom, without getting further notice of it than what they had at their first setting forth. All which notwithstanding, the third, fourth, and fifth undertakers have not been disheartened. Surely they are worthily rewarded with those treasuries and paradises which they enjoy; and well they deserve to hold them quietly, if they hinder not the like virtue in others, which perhaps will not be found."—*Hist. of the World*, Book V., chap. 50, page 113, 8vo, ed. 1829.

retaining any of his companions, who, at the last moment, might be unwilling to leave their brave old Commander. Tafur, therefore, placed himself at one end of his vessel; and, drawing a line, put Pizarro and his men at the other. He then said, that those who wished to return to Panamá, should pass over the line,* and come to him, and those who did not wish to return, should stay where they were, by the side of Pizarro. Fourteen resolute men, amongst whom was a mulatto, stood by the side of their Chief: the rest passed over the line to Tafur.

Pizarro's men have their choice to go home or to stay with him.

This simple story has been told in a very different way, according to the invincible passion for melo-dramatic representation which people of second-rate imagination delight in, those especially who have not seen much of human affairs, and who do not know in how plain and unpretending a manner the greatest things are, for the most part, transacted. The popular story is one which may remind the classical reader of the story of the choice of Hercules. Assembling his men, Pizarro drew his sword, and marked with it a line upon the sand, from west to east.—Then, pointing towards the south, the way to Peru, he said, "Gentlemen, on that side are labour, hunger, thirst, fatigue, wounds, sicknesses, and all the other dangers which have to be undergone

Dramatic speech invented for Pizarro.

* "Se puso en la parte del navío, y haziendo una raya, puso de la otra parte della á Francisco Piçarro, y á los soldados, y dixo que los que quisiessen yr á Panamá, se passassen á él, y los que no, se estuviessen sin passar la raya."—HERRERA, *Hist. de las Indias*, dec. 3, lib. 10, cap. 3.

B. XVI. Ch. I.

until life is ended. Those who have the courage to endure these things and to be my faithful companions, let them pass the line. Those who feel themselves unworthy of so great an enterprize, let them return to Panamá, for I wish to force no man." Unfortunately for the credit of this story, we have the evidence, taken before a judge, of one of the fourteen brave men who stayed with Pizarro, who states simply that "Pizarro being in the Island of Gallo, the Governor Rios sent for the men who were with the said Captain, allowing any one who should wish to prosecute the enterprize to remain with him."*

It matters but little, however, to show the exact form which the transaction took, except that it proves more for the good sense of those men who stayed with Pizarro, that they should have been induced to do so by the rational arguments which he held out to them, and by a constancy of purpose based upon due consideration of the facts, rather than by any momentary enthusiasm, the offspring of a sudden and dramatic incident. The most notable men among the fourteen were Pedro de Candia (a native of the Island of Candia), and Bartolomé Ruiz de Moguer, the pilot of the expedition.

The rest of Pizarro's men went back with Tafur to Panamá, having endured a fearful

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* "Estando Pizarro en la isla del Gallo, el gobernador Rios envió por la gente que con dicho capitan estaba, y se quedase con él el que quisiese para proseguir el descubrimiento."—See the *Informacion hecha en Panamá á pedimento de* García de Jaren, en 3 Agosto, 1529. *Doc. Inéd.*, tom. 26, p. 260.

amount of unrequited suffering,—having, as it were, watched through the darkest hours of the night, and not being able to abide that last cold hour before the sun makes its welcome appearance.

Pizarro leaves the Island of Gallo, and comes to that of Gorgona.

Pizarro and his fourteen brave companions did not venture to stay in the Island of Gallo, as it was close to the shore, and could, therefore, be easily attacked by the Indians; but they went over to an uninhabited island, six leagues from land, called Gorgona. There, while waiting for supplies from Almagro, Pizarro and his men subsisted upon shell-fish, and whatever things, in any way eatable, they could collect upon the shore. In the midst of all their misery they did not forget their piety. "Every morning they gave thanks to God: at evening-time they said the *Salve* and other prayers appointed for different hours. They took heed of the feasts of the Church, and kept account of their Fridays and Sundays." Indeed, the old Spanish proverb,

The sufferings and the piety of Pizarro and his men.

"Si quereis saber orar,
Aprended á navegar," *

was thoroughly exemplified in the conduct of Pizarro and his men while staying in the inhospitable Island of Gorgona, "which those who have seen it compare with the infernal regions."

Meanwhile, the generous Almagro and the good De Luque did not forget their suffering partner left on the island. After repeated applications, they persuaded the Governor to send

* "Learn to be a sailor, if you would know how to pray."

B. XVI. Ch. I.

a vessel for Pizarro. Pedro de los Rios consented, but attached to his consent the condition that Pizarro and his men should return in six months, or be subject to heavy penalties. Three months had passed since Almagro and Pizarro parted; the brave little company had suffered every species of hardship, when, one day, they perceived a vessel in the distance. Some said that it was a piece of wood, others, some other thing, and such was the agony of their desire, that, "although they knew it was a sail, they did not believe it," for, as there is a hope, so there is a fear, that is almost more convincing than sight itself. At last, indubitably, the sails grew white, the vessel came near, and not even timidity itself could doubt that the long looked-for succour had arrived. It was not men, however, but supplies only that were brought in the vessel. Undaunted by the comparative smallness of the succour, and resolved to make the most use of the time which was allowed to them for discovery, the brave little company set forth again, and, keeping close to the shore, came in sight, after twenty days, of a little island which was opposite to Tumbez, and to which they gave the name of Santa Clara.

At last they receive some succour.

They commence their voyage of discovery again.

As they sailed along, during these twenty days, they must have caught glimpses of the astounding summits of Chimborazo and Cotopaxi, but not a word is said of these things; for most of what we consider romantic or sublime was simply hideous and intractable to the eyes of men who were wearied of mountains, forests,

deserts, and great rivers, who only desired to see a level country, abounding in rich pastures and intersected by convenient roads, on which long strings of beasts of burden should be seen carrying gold, rich stuffs, and precious stones.

The island they had now discovered was to that coast what Cozumel had been to the coast of New Spain. It was a sacred spot, whither, at certain times, the inhabitants of the mainland went to make sacrifices. The Spaniards landed, and saw a stone idol having the figure of a man, except that its head was fashioned in a conical form. This was the first intimation of a practice in that country of endeavouring to improve upon the human physiognomy by altering the shape of the head.* A much more satisfactory sight was to be seen in the rich offerings of precious metal which were there—pieces of gold and silver wrought in the shape of hands, women's breasts, and heads; a large silver jug which held an *arroba* (four gallons) of water;—also, beautifully-woven woollen mantles, dyed yellow, the mourning colour of the Peruvians. The natives whom Bartolomé Ruiz had captured said that these riches were nothing compared to those that were to be found in their country.

Offering found in the island of Santa Clara.

The Spaniards embarked again, and the next day discovered a great raft with some of the

* "Acostumbraron á formar las cabezas que fuessen algo largas y no mucho, y muy delgadas y empinadas en lo alto de ellas; y lo que á mi parecer por aver visto alguno de los Señores del linage de los Ingas, la forma de ellas era ni mas ni menos que la de un mortero."—Las Casas, *Hist. Apologética*, MS., cap. 253.

B. XVI. Ch. I.

natives upon it. Then again four other rafts. These vessels contained a body of men who were going to attack the Island of Puña. Pizarro made them return with him to Tumbez, and when they arrived there, and the Spaniards had cast anchor near the shore, Pizarro gave the men whom they had taken in the rafts, leave to depart, and entrusted them with a friendly message to the chief inhabitants of Tumbez.

Pizarro anchors off the shore of Tumbez.

Strange were the stories which the Indians had to tell their lord, of the white men with large beards whom they had encountered, who were now in that extraordinary-looking raft which had anchored near the shore, and who were come, as they learnt from the other Indians, to discover new lands. It was resolved in Tumbez to be hospitable to the strangers, and to send a present to them under the conduct of a man in authority, whom, from the artificial deformity of his ears (a sign of rank), the Spaniards called an *Orejon*.

The inhabitants send to greet Pizarro.

Friendly discourse passed between Pizarro and this *Orejon*. In reply to the questions of the Indian Lord, Pizarro informed him by what authority and for what purpose he came there, denouncing idols and enlightening him as to the first truths of Christianity. The *Orejon* and Pizarro dined together, and afterwards the Spanish Captain gave him some presents—an iron hatchet, some strings of pearls, and three chalcedones. To the principal Lord of the town, Pizarro sent two swine and some fowls. The *Orejon* asked if Pizarro would permit some of his

men to return with him to the town. Pizarro consented, and a certain Alonso de Molina, with a negro, accompanied the *Orejon* on shore. B. XVI. Ch. 1.

The principal Lord of Tumbez was much astonished at the new animals which Pizarro had sent him. When the cock crowed, he asked what it said? But nothing surprized him or his people so much as the negro. They endeavoured to wash him, which process he bore with the good nature of his race, laughing and showing his white teeth.* The bystanders little thought that these two strangers were the representatives of nations who came to dispossess them, and that thousands upon thousands of these black men would become the inhabitants of Peru. On the other hand, Molina and the negro were not less astonished at the wonders which they beheld; and, when they were allowed to return to the ship, they brought an account of a fortress which had six or seven walls, of aqueducts, of stone houses, and of vessels of silver and gold. Indeed, they had now arrived at a spot where they might form some estimate of Peruvian civilization. The valley of Tumbez contained a town in which was a palace belonging to the reigning Inca, Huayna-Capac; there was also a temple dedicated to the sun; there were the sacred virgins; and there were beautiful gardens in which all kinds of plants and animals were kept. These latter are said to have given occasion to a miracle which had much repute

Pizarro hears of the wonders of Tumbez.

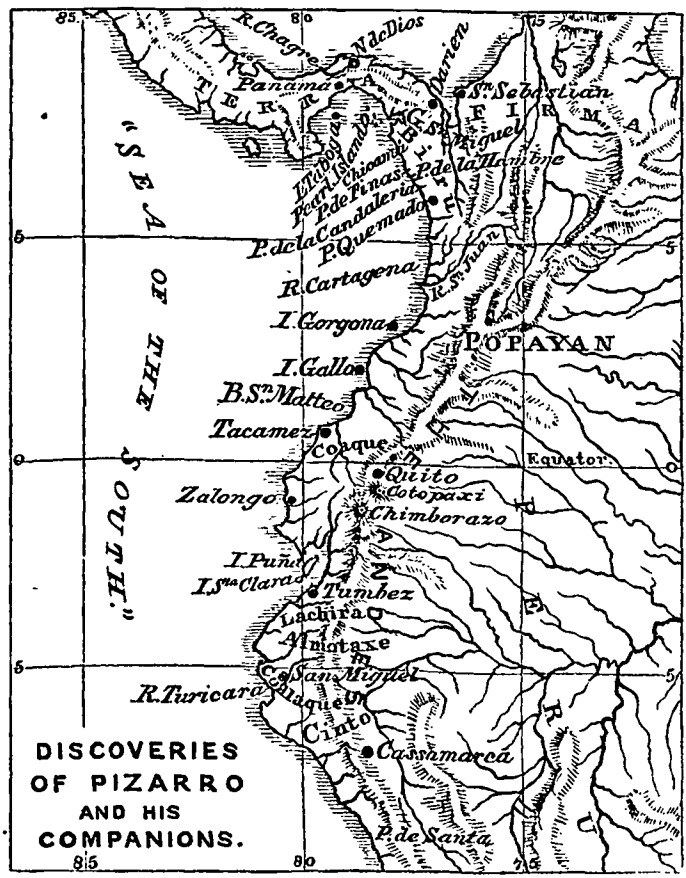
* "No se cansavan de mirarle, haziaule labar para ver si se le quitava la tinta negra, y el lo hazia de buéna gana, riendose, y mostrando sus dientes blancos."—HERRERA, dec. 3, lib. 10, cap. 5.

B. XVI. Ch. 1.

in those times. Pizarro wished to test Molina's account of what he had seen, and consented that Pedro de Candia, a large man of noble presence, should go and see the town. Clad in a coat of mail, with a brazen shield on his left arm, his sword in his belt, and in his right hand a wooden cross, the bold Greek stepped forth towards the town, "as if he had been the lord of the whole province." The people flocked to see him: never before had they seen a bearded man, or one with these strange accoutrements. Wishing, very judiciously, to ascertain the temper and quality of their new guest, they let loose two wild animals (a lion and a tiger they are called); but these animals, perhaps too well fed to attack any man, especially one clad in mail, made no attempt to molest him, and, as the story goes, he placed the cross on their backs, "thus giving those Gentiles to understand that the virtue of that sign took away the ferocity even of wild beasts." What effect it had hitherto had upon men, was not so clearly signified. Assured by the reception which the wild beasts had given to Pedro de Candia, the natives received him as a superior being, and conducted him over the temple and the palace. The temple was lined with plates of gold, and the palace contained every kind of vessel for use and ornament, made of the same precious metal. In the gardens were animals carved in gold. Pedro de Candia, having feasted his eyes with these splendours, returned to his companions. They now knew enough of the riches of Peru to satisfy the most incredulous; but they still persevered in going down the coast. They reached Collaque, where the town of San

Pedro de Candia sees some of the riches of Peru.

Miguel was afterwards founded, and prosecuted their researches even as far as Puerto de Santa. Having reconnoitred thus far, they resolved to return to Panamá. In this region they were well received by the natives. Pizarro had the pru-



dence to ask for some young Indians to be given him, who might be taught the Castillian language. Two youths were accordingly brought to him, who were baptized, one being named Martin, the other Felipillo (little Philip), who afterwards became a celebrated and most mischievous in-

B. XVI. Ch. I.

terpreter. Pizarro and his companions were especially well received by an Indian lady near Puerto de Santa. She did not even shrink from coming on board their vessel for the purpose of inviting them to a feast, at which they were entertained with the greatest hospitality. After the banquet and the dance were over, Pizarro took occasion to deliver a religious and political discourse, in which he informed his entertainers of the nullity of their religion, the vainness of their sacrifices, and the obedience which it was necessary to pay to the King of Castille. The polite Indians, who probably did not understand one single word uttered by the Spanish Captain, took a flag which he had given them, and waved it, no doubt in imitation of some gesture of his, three times over their heads. This, I believe, was held to be an acknowledgment of subjection to the Emperor, though the Indians themselves, we may venture to say, were entirely guiltless of any such meaning. The Spaniards returned to their boat, the only misadventure being that one of their company, whose brain had most likely been affected by the hardships he had undergone, went mad for love of the Indian lady. The gallant company then made their way back to Panamá, freighted with great news; and we need not doubt that the little world there, unless it were very different from other parts of the world, gave full honours to success, and omitted now to add the injurious name of *loco*, when they saw any of the three associates in the streets.

Reception of the Spaniards at the house of an Indian lady.

Pizarro returns to Panamá. 1527.

This was at the end of the year 1527.

CHAPTER II.

PIZARRO GOES TO THE SPANISH COURT—RETURNS TO PANAMA—STARTS FOR THE CONQUEST OF PERU—FOUNDS THE TOWN OF SAN MIGUEL.

IT was agreed by the partners that Pizarro should go to the Spanish Court, to bear the good tidings thither, and to seek for due honours and rewards. The worthy schoolmaster seems to have had some misgiving about this journey, as he is reported to have said, "Please God, my children, that you do not steal the blessing one from the other, as Jacob did from Esau; but I would that you had gone both together."

Pizarro goes to Spain. 1528.

Pizarro arrived safely in Spain. He had not however, long disembarked before he was seized upon by that persistent *Bachiller* of law, Enciso, who put him in prison, probably for some claim which the *Bachiller* had against him in reference to the expedition of Ojeda. Pizarro was soon freed from this degrading imprisonment; and, making his way to the Spanish Court, was well received there. His main object was speedily accomplished. The government of Peru was assigned to him, the extent of that government being defined to be, two hundred leagues down the coast, from Tenumpuela (the island of Puña is meant, I

Extent of the province assigned to Pizarro.

B. XVI. Ch. 2.

think) to Chincha;* the title of Adelantado was also given to him; and the bishopric of Tumbez was assigned to Fernando de Luque. Pizarro then went to visit his native town, Truxillo, in Estremadura. It is not often that a man has

come back to his home with more renown; and he seems to have had the unusual fortune of inspiring his nearest relatives with some belief in him, or at least in his success. His brothers, Fernando (who was the only legitimate one), Juan, Gonzalo, and Martin, resolved to sell their

Pizarro's brothers join him in his enterprize.

* "Las cuales dichas ducientas leguas comienzan desde el pueblo que en lengua de indios se dice Tenumpuela, é despues le llamasteis Santiago, hasta llegar al pueblo de Chincha, que puede haber las dichas ducientas leguas de costa, poco mas ó menos."—See *Agreement signed by the Queen of Spain as Regent*, given in the Appendix to QUINTANA'S *Life of Pizarro*.

estates and to join their brother Francisco in his enterprize. This gathering of the family around him apparently strengthened him much. His brother Fernando was a man of great ability, though of a nature and temperament which afterwards proved very detrimental to the Governor.

Notwithstanding all these present advantages, Pizarro found it difficult to furnish the necessary complement of men for his vessels; and it was only by a trick that he contrived to elude the investigation of the King's Officers at Seville, who had orders to see that his vessels were duly furnished and equipped, before being allowed to depart. One hundred and twenty-five men were all that he could number, when he arrived at Nombre de Dios, from which port he made his way to Panamá. The meeting of the principal partners was not at all friendly, for Almagro was naturally much discontented at the neglect which Pizarro had shown of his interests at Court. Hitherto the only fruits of Almagro's enterprize had been the loss of his eye, and the various debts which he had rendered himself accountable for; and now he was not to share any of his partner's honours. It may here be mentioned that Pizarro, in addition to other marks of favour which he had received, had been appointed a Knight of the Order of Santiago.* The arrival, moreover, of Pizarro's brothers was not a pleasing circumstance to Almagro; and then began those

Jan. 19, 1530.

Pizarro rejoins his associates.

* It is pleasing to find that the brave men who had stood by Pizarro in the Island of Gallo were made *hidalgos*.

B. XVI. Ch. 2.

feuds between him and the Pizarros which afterwards led to the most deadly consequences.

By the advice, however, of common friends —such as Fernando de Luque and Gaspar de Espinosa, who were deeply interested in the reconciliation of Pizarro and Almagro,—the two associates were brought to terms; Pizarro agreeing to renounce the appointment of Adelantado in favour of Almagro, and binding himself not to ask any favour from the Spanish Court for himself, or his brothers, until he should have obtained a Government for his partner, to commence where the limits of his own ended.

Pizarro sets out to conquer Peru. Dec., 1530.

The preparations for departure were then completed, and Pizarro set sail from Panamá on the 28th of December, 1530, being the Feast of the Innocents,* in three small ships, carrying one hundred and eighty-three men and thirty-seven horses. In three days he entered the bay of San Mateo, which, as his secretary† remarks, he had not been able to reach in two years and more when he reconnoitred it for the first time. Everywhere he found the people in arms against him. Advancing to the town of Coaque, he seized upon it, "lest it should revolt," and captured booty amounting to 15,000 *pesos* in gold, 1500 marks in silver, and many emeralds. Upon this good fortune he sent back his vessels with the spoil to

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* This date is inferred from two passages in the *Relacion* of Fray Pedro de Naharro, *Doc. Inéd.*, pp. 237, 238.

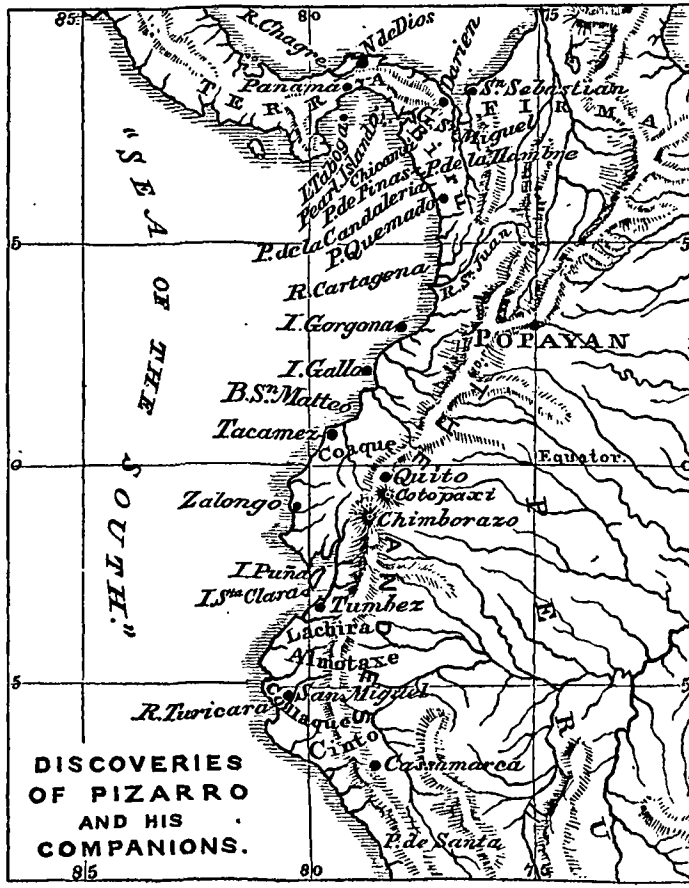
† Francisco de Xerez.—*Verdadera Relacion de la Conquista del Perú, y Provincia del Cuzco, embiada al Emperador Cárlos V.* Salamanca, 1547.

Panamá, hoping that they would soon return with men and horses. One of the vessels was to go on to Nicaragua, as there were many Nicaraguans in the expedition. It was several months before these vessels returned; and, during that time, Pizarro and his men underwent sufferings, caused by a malignant and infectious disease, which quite recalled the old times of his early voyages. Men went to bed well at night, and awoke in the morning, if they did awake at all, sick, disfigured, swollen, and unable to move. As QUINTANA has well said, "it was the last blow of Nature in her endeavour to guard the Empire of Peru from invasion;" and it was the last signal instance of that poverty in the preparation for the conquest, which had so many times caused Pizarro to linger in some hostile country, or deadly climate, while waiting in a state of cruel anxiety for succour to be sent him by his partners. The strange part of the story, however, is that all these miseries were amply repaid by the delay which caused them, as far as regarded the ultimate success of the undertaking. Each day that Pizarro's men were wasting away by sickness (their losses being told by units), the Peruvians were busy in destroying their thousands, and in sapping the basis of their empire, by a civil warfare carried to the extreme of barbarous hostility.

The Nicaraguan Spaniards in Pizarro's expedition, recalling to their memory "the delights which they had left" in that lovely country, were especially impatient of their present state of suffering, and might have proved insubordinate,

B. XVI. Ch. 2.

but that at last, after seven weary months, the two vessels which had been sent to Panamá hove in sight, bringing twenty-six horse-soldiers and thirty foot-soldiers. Pizarro then, with this small reinforcement, commenced his march along the coast, occupying by force of arms the villages



which he came upon in his way, and endeavouring to convert the inhabitants, until he arrived at that part of the coast which lies opposite to the Island of Puña. He and his men passed over in rafts to

that island. There he was received with great apparent joy, to the sound of musical instruments; and the chief Curaca (a Peruvian name corresponding with Cacique) gave him a sum of gold and of silver. As it was the rainy season, Pizarro resolved to rest in the island for some time.

At this point of the narrative Pizarro's secretary introduces a general remark which does not seem to have much depth in it. He says, "It is in the character of the Indians not to submit themselves to other people, unless they are constrained to do so by force." The inhabitants of Puña formed no exception to this general rule; and the Spaniards, by means of their interpreters, discovered that the chiefs of the island were planning an attack upon them. Pizarro, apprized of this, lost no time in seizing upon the Curaca and his sons. This, however, did not prevent a general attack on the part of the Indians. The action lasted some hours: several Spaniards and some of their horses were wounded; but, as was inevitable, the Indians were ultimately routed with great loss of life. Pizarro burnt or beheaded ten of the principal persons, but set the chief Curaca free, on the ground that he was compelled to join in the conspiracy, and also with a view to bringing back the natives to their towns and re-establishing the Government. The Spanish Commander then resolved to leave the island, and to steer for Tumbez. In order to pass his baggage over with facility, Pizarro ordered the Curaca of Tumbez to send some rafts, which being done, three of the

Pizarro's treatment of the Indians at Puña.

B. XVI. Ch. 2.

Spaniards embarked on these rafts with the baggage. Pizarro himself, with some of his men and horses, set sail in three of his own vessels, which were lying at anchor off Puña. He arrived safely at Tumbez, and, sending for the rest of his men from the island, they all established themselves in two fortified houses in that town.

Pizarro comes again to Tumbez.

The aspect of things was very different from what it had been on Pizarro's first arrival in those parts, in the year 1527. He found that Tumbez was partially destroyed. This had occurred in the course of a war which had broken out between the inhabitants of Puña and Tumbez. But the disposition also of the natives towards the Spaniards was entirely changed. Pizarro found the whole population in arms. His three men with the baggage had been cut off, which formed at once a cause of loud complaint and warlike menace on his part.

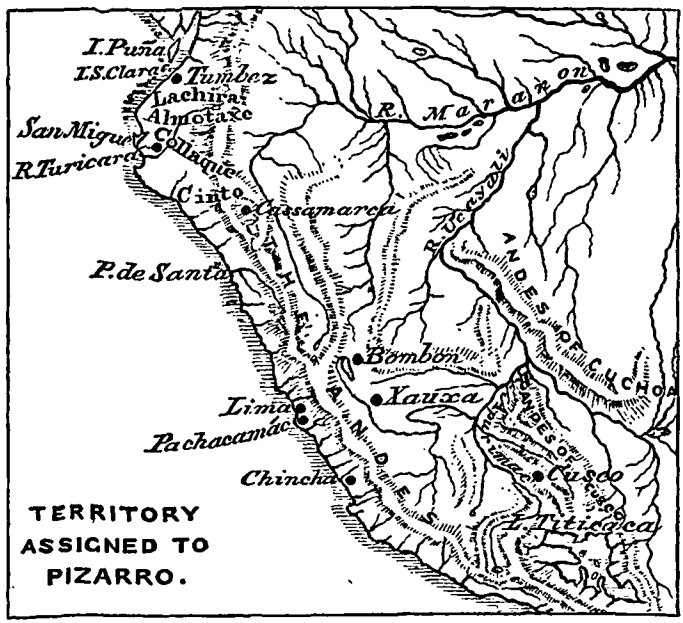
Change of disposition of the people towards him.

One ground for this change of disposition on the part of the Indians may easily be assigned. The number of the Spaniards was alone sufficient to excite some dread and aversion. It was a very different thing, showing courtesy and hospitality to a few men in a boat, from receiving amicably a small armament in three vessels.

The Spanish Commander demanded the production of his three missing men. The Indians, emboldened by being on the other side of a river which had swollen, and which Pizarro could not readily cross, and having also established themselves in a fort, defied the Spaniards, and admitted that they had killed the three men. Pizarro then gave orders for a great raft to be constructed, on

which the Spaniards passed the river, attacked the Indians, routed them, and reduced the country to obedience.

Pizarro now resolved to quit Tumbez, and to found a town. He accordingly took his departure on the 18th of May, 1532. After journeying south- Pizarro quits Tumbez, May 18, 1532.



wards for several days, in the course of which he met with some Indians who were friendly, and with others whom, suspecting them of designs against the Spaniards, he seized upon and executed (as happened to the Curaca of Almotaxe, with his chieftains, and to all the principal Indians of Lachira),*

DE XEREZ, *Conquista del Perú.* Salamanca, 1547. See also the same work of Xerez, in BARCIA, *Historiadores*, p. 186; also, RAMUSIO; and TERNAUX-COMPANS.

* "Luego mandó hacer justicia quemando al Cacique de Almotaxe, í á sus principales, í á algunos Indios, í á todos los Principales de Lachira."—FRANCISCO.

B. XVI. Ch. 2.

Pizarro founds a town.

Pizarro selected a spot for his new town, which he called San Miguel, and which was adjacent to an Indian town called Tangarara. It was founded with all the usual formalities. Spanish residents were assigned to it, amongst whom the neighbouring Indians were distributed.* This *repartimiento*, the first made in that part of the world, was given conditionally, and with the consent of the chaplain Valverde and of the King's Officers, who "judged that plan to be useful to religion and profitable to the natives, that the new inhabitants might be maintained, and the Indians instructed in the faith, conformably to the orders of His Majesty, until it should be decided what was most suitable for the service of God, and of the King, and most advantageous to the natives."

The first *repartimiento* in Peru.

Arrival of supplies from Panamá.

Meanwhile vessels had arrived from Panamá with supplies—amongst which may have been the cannon that are afterwards mentioned. Pizarro melted the gold which he had obtained from Tumbez and from a Curaca in the neighbourhood of his new town. With this gold, after deducting the fifth part for the Emperor, Pizarro paid for the freight and supplies, and urged on the necessary buildings for the new town. No troops had arrived in these vessels; for Almagro, it was said, intended to come and colonize on his own account. Pizarro,

* "Á esta causa, con acuerdo de el Religioso, í de los Oficiales, que les pareció convenir así al servicio de Dios, í bien de los Naturales, el Governador depositó los Caciques, í Indios en los Vecinos de este Pueblo, porque los aiudasen á sostenir, í los Christianos los doctrinasen en Nuestra Santa Fé, conforme á los Mandamientos de su Magestad, entre tanto que provee lo que mas conviniere al servicio de Dios, í suio, í bien del Pueblo, í de los Naturales de la Tierra."—F. DE XEREZ, *Conquista del Perú*, p. 187.

hearing this, when he sent the vessels back, wrote to Almagro, begging him to change his project, and stating how much the service of God and of His Majesty would suffer from the establishment of a new colony, as tending to frustrate the main design of the enterprize.

He was right in thus strongly expressing his objection, for two colonies under rival governors would not have been able to subsist in an unconquered country, and would speedily have ensured each other's destruction.

Facilities for the enterprize of Pizarro.

It may here be observed how greatly the enterprize of Pizarro was facilitated by the establishment of the Spaniards at Panamá. Twice, at least, in the short time that had elapsed since Pizarro's departure from the Isthmus had he received assistance from his friends and associates at Panamá. How differently situated was he from the earlier discoverers, and from the masters under whom he had served: from Columbus, left isolated in his great enterprizes; from Vasco Nuñez, and from Cortes, who had much to dread upon the arrival of any Spanish vessels; and even from the minor personages, such as Ojeda, Enciso, and Nicuesa. One other difference, also, between the fortunes of these latter captains and that of Pizarro was, that he had not to contend against any tribes of Indians who made use of poisoned arrows. This alone was as good for him as if his armament had been quadrupled in number.

While Pizarro was at his new town, where he remained for several months, he learned some-

B. XVI. Ch. 2.

thing of the country which he was about to conquer. He heard that, on the road to places called Chincha and Cusco, there were populous towns, very large and very rich; and that a journey of twelve or fifteen days from San Miguel would bring him to a well-peopled valley, called Cassamarca, where Atahuallpa, the greatest monarch of those parts, was stationed. The account which Pizarro's secretary gives of this Prince is probably the exact account of what was known to Pizarro at the time the secretary was writing. "This Prince," he says, "had come as a conqueror from a far-off land, his country, and having arrived at the province of Cassamarca ('Cassa,' hail, and 'marca,' a province), he had fixed himself there because he had found it very rich and very pleasant, and from thence he was about to extend his conquests." Pizarro must soon have learnt a little more about Atahuallpa, as Fernando Pizarro, in an interesting letter which he afterwards wrote to the *Audiencia* of St. Domingo, giving an account of the early proceedings in his brother's enterprize, states thus his brother's knowledge at that time of the affairs of the Peruvian kingdom:—

First rumours of the state of Peru.

Pizarro hears of Atahuallpa.

"He heard that there was there (at Cassamarca), Atahuallpa, son of old Cusco, and brother of him who at that time was Lord of the country. Between the two brothers there had been a very bloody war, and this Atahuallpa had gone on conquering the country as far as Cassamarca."*

The ignorance of the Spaniards as regards the kingdom they were about to conquer, may be

* See the Appendix to QUINTANA's *Life of Pizarro.*

seen in their use of the word Cusco for the name of the reigning sovereign and that of his predecessor, which is much the same thing as if an invading army of barbarians, entering England, were to speak of the deceased and the reigning monarch as old and young London.

The Spaniards know nothing about the Peruvians,

The ignorance, however, of the Spaniards about Peru was more than equalled by the ignorance of the Peruvians about the Spaniards. Indeed, the two great centres of American civilization were entirely dissociated. Nothing was known in Mexico of Peru: nothing in Peru of Mexico. The fall of the great city of Anahuac spread dismay far and wide in Central America, but not a rumour reached the golden chambers of the reigning Inca. Yet a small and narrow strip of territory was all that intervened to check communication between the two great empires. In the same parallel of latitude where dwelt some Nahuals,* an offset of the early Mexican race, were to be found those Indians who gave Vasco Nuñez that information which led the Spaniards to undertake the discovery of Peru.

Nor the Peruvians of the Spaniards.

Had "old Cusco" or "young Cusco" been aware of the proceedings of the Spaniards either in Darien or at Mexico, a very different reception would have awaited them in Peru; but the conquest of America was commenced at a period when nations had been formed in that continent, but when international relations had been hardly at all developed.

* On the Balsam coast, and near the Gulf of Nicoya. See SQUIER'S *Central America*, chap. 16.

CHAPTER III.

THE HISTORY, LAWS, RELIGION, AND CUSTOMS OF PERU PREVIOUS TO THE CONQUEST, AND THE STATE OF THE ROYAL FAMILY.

B. XVI. Ch. 3.

BEFORE narrating the events which occurred in Pizarro's march onwards, I must explain who "young Cusco" and "old Cusco" were, and who was this Atahuallpa, the great monarch whom Pizarro was now about to encounter. We need not enter minutely into the many and much-vexed questions relating to the origin and the duration of the dynasty of the Peruvian Incas. Whether they were of the race of Manco Capac, a great legislator who came from the lake of Titicaca, and of his sister Mama Oello; or whether they were indigenous princes, who by slow degrees had founded a great monarchy; or whether they were the heads of some small and warlike tribe who came from a distance, are questions for the antiquary. If they were the descendants of legislators and reformers, their story will be best illustrated and explained by the extraordinary narrative of Cabeça de Vaca and his companions, who were taken for gods in Florida,* and who might easily have founded a

Origin of the Peruvian dynasty.

* See the chapter on Religions, vol. 2, p. 128.

great dynasty. If, on the other hand, they were the chiefs of some valiant and invading tribe, then, what we know of the Araucans, from the remarkable poem* of a Spanish soldier who fought against them, may aid us in discerning how the wise and dexterous chieftains, whom he describes as ruling over four or five thousand devoted clansmen, might invade, conquer, civilize, convert, and form into one empire a scattered people living after the fashion of the ancient patriarchs.

How the dynasty of the Incas may have arisen.

Again, whether the dynasty of the Incas was comparatively recent, or whether, according to the learned Montesinos,† it was a dynasty

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* In the gathering of the Araucan chiefs to fight the Spanish Governor, Valdivia, whom they afterwards conquered, some of them are described in the two following stanzas:—

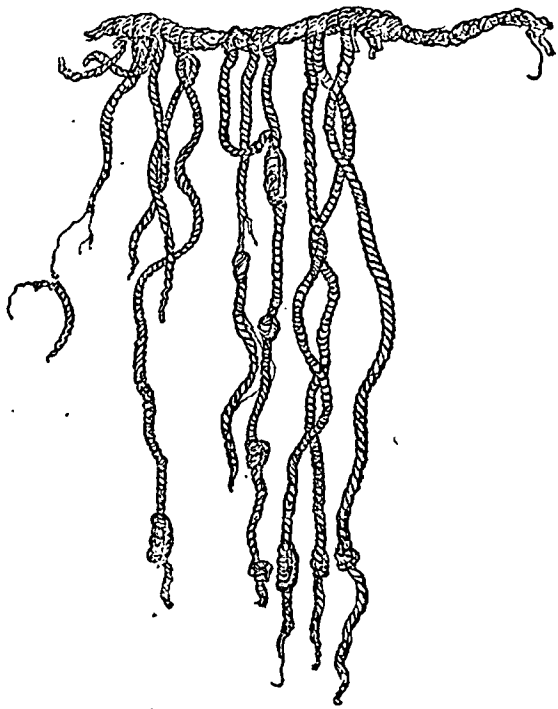
"Cayocupíl, Cacique bullicioso
No fué el postrero que dexó su tierra,
Que allí llegó el tercero deseoso
De hacer á todo el mundo él solo guerra:
Tres mil vasallos tiene este famoso
Usados tras las fieras en la sierra.
Millarapué, aunque viejo, el quarto vinò,
Que cinco mil gobierna de contino.
"Paycabí se juntó aquel mismo dia,
Tres mil diestros soldados señorea:
No léjos Lemolemo dél venia,
Que tiene seis mil hombres de pelea.
Maregüano, Gualemo, y Lebopía
Se dan priesa á llegar, porque se vea,
Que quieren ser en todo los primeros:
Gobiernan estos tres tres mil guerreros."

—*La Araucana* de Don Alonso Ercilla y Zúñiga, tom. 1, canto 2.

† See his *Memoriales*, translated by M. Ternaux Compans, vol. 7. There is something singularly melancholy in reading such works as those of Montesinos and Balboa, made out from collections of dim records which will not admit of being arranged with any certainty, and yet which cannot be altogether neglected. The reader just discerns that a great many people suffered much; that there were many battles and many rebellions; but he is in doubt whether the son rebelled against his father, or whether the old king was jealous of his son's successes, and sought to cut him off. It is often only clear that there was anarchy.

B. XVI. Ch. 3.

mounting up to patriarchal times, is also a question for the antiquary, hardly to be solved without the aid of records, which were en-



As Milton has said of a similar period of English history—to describe it would be like describing the encounters of kites and crows.

Occasionally we gain a glimpse of happier monarchs, but little is said of them; and reigns, that might worthily have taxed the powers of consummate historians, are summed up in such brief sentences as the following, in which, perhaps, the names may all be wrong, and the men themselves, as far as they are known to posterity, are known for something which they did not do:—"*Auqui-Quitua mourût, à l'âge de 60 ans aprés un régne heureux. Il eut pour successeurs Huiracocha-Capac, second du nom, qui régna quinze ans, et Chinchi-Roca-Amauta, tres habile dans l'astrologie, qui mourut après avoir gouverné vingt ans, et sans avoir rien fait de remarquable. Amauro-Amauta, qui prit sa place, était si mélancolique, qu'il n'y avait pas un de ses sujets qui pût dire l'avoir vu rire. Capac-Raymi-Amauta, qui vint ensuite, aimait beaucoup l'astrologie, et*

trusted to the perishable and easily entangled *quippus.** B. XVI. Ch. 3.

Whichever way these dubious questions may be decided, the nature of the country in Peru† must be taken into consideration. It consists of a series of deserts and valleys, and therefore admitted of being conquered, or converted, in detail. The singular

réunit prés de lui tous ceux qui se distinguaient dans cette science. Il calculait trés-bien les solstices au moyen des cadrans solaires; il connaissait par là le plus long et le plus court des jours de l'année, et quand le soleil arrivait au tropique." — *Mémoires Historiques sur l'Ancien Pérou*, par FERNANDO MONTESINOS. TERNAUX COMPANS, vol. 7, p. 97.

* The *quippus*, of which I annex an engraving copied from the *Antigüedades Peruanas*, and taken from one found in an ancient cemetery near Pachacamác, was made of threads of different colours, which colours, the knots, and the distances between the knots and between the threads, afforded first a means of numeration, and afterwards a species of hieroglyphic.

† The country of Peru has been well described by a modern traveller, who divides it into three distinct regions :—"1. *The Coast*, extending from the feet of the maritime Cordillera to the ocean, contains a numerous succession of rich and fertile valleys, separated from each other by sandy deserts. These valleys enjoy a warm, though not oppressive, climate; rain is never known to fall, but refreshing dews descend in abundance during the night. In these valleys crops of sugar and cotton are raised; while extensive vineyards produce wines of delicious flavour, and á spirit called *pisco*, which is consumed in large quantities by all classes, and also largely exported.

"2. *The Sierra*, the region of the Cordillera of the Andes, is about 300 miles wide, and contains the most stupendous mountains, whose scenery is unequalled in beauty; vast plains and pasture lands, and warm and fertile valleys. The Sierra is the native place of the potato, the abode of the vicuña and alpaca; while in its recesses lie concealed the far-famed and inexhaustible treasures of Peru.

"3. *The Montaña*, or tropical forests, skirting the eastern slopes of the Andes, and extending over two-thirds of the Republic of Peru, are comparatively unknown; but they abound in products of the greatest commercial value, and will, at some future time, be the principal source of Peruvian wealth."—*Cuzco: A Journey to the Ancient Capital of Peru.* By CLEMENT R. MARKHAM, F.R.G.S., p. 9.

B. XVI. Ch. 3.

policy of the Incas may be seen in the fact that they associated with themselves, and gave Incarial dignity to, the chief men in the tribe whom they first conquered at Cusco, which they made the central point of their dominions.

Before proceeding further, it will be well to give the account which existed in the Incarial family respecting their advent to Peru, and their conversion of the natives. Garcilaso de la Vega,* when a youth, inquiring of his uncle about the origin of their family and their religion, was told by the old Inca that in former days all the region of Peru was wild, and the inhabitants were savage, without religion, polity, or towns,—ignorant of sowing or of weaving,—living in the hollows of the earth like wild beasts, and eating the flesh of their fellow-men.

The story of the Incas, as told by one of their family.

"The Sun, our father," continued the old Inca,

* Garcilaso de la Vega was born at Cusco in 1540. His father was of an ancient Spanish house, and the surname De la Vega had been derived from an exploit of one of his ancestors in the conquest of Granada. His mother was of the Incarial family, having escaped, when a little girl, from the massacre that Atahuallpa's generals made of Guascar Inca's household. Garcilaso wrote the *Historia de la Florida*, the *Comentarios Reales del Peru*, and the *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*.

The latter work no man of that age could have been more qualified to write. Objections have been made against it for faults of composition, and for credulity; but the early historians of the Conquest are so liable to blame on both these heads (especially on the former), that Garcilaso de la Vega is by no means remarkable amongst them for his failings. Oviedo's history, for example, is a mass of confusion and irrelevancy, but at the same time a most valuable mine of facts; and, with the exception of Bernal Diaz and Las Casas, there is not perhaps any historical writer of that period on the subject of the Indies, whose loss would be more felt than that of Garcilaso de la Vega.

"looking down from heaven upon these unfortunate men, took pity on them, and sent down to earth a son and a daughter of his own, to instruct and civilize mankind. The son was Manco Capac—the daughter, Mama Oello. The Sun placed his children near the lake of Titicaca. He bade them go whither they pleased, but gave them a rod of gold, and said that in whatever part of the earth it should sink at one stroke, there he wished them to abide, and there they should make his settlement and his court."

Lastly, he told them "that when they had brought the savage people to apprehend true polity, and to worship him, they should be loving lords and masters to them, therein imitating him, their father, who did good to all mankind, giving them light and heat, creating their pastures, making their trees to bear fruit, and multiplying their cattle. According to the required seasons, he caused the rain to descend, or made the atmosphere serene: and each successive day he took the pains of traversing the earth, in order to behold its necessities and to relieve them."

The story of the Incas, as told by one of their family.

Having thus instructed his children, and having invested them with his authority, the Sun dismissed them on their beneficent errand.

Quitting the lake of Titicaca, they travelled northwards; and, throughout their journey, wherever they stayed, they tried the earth with their rod of gold, but it did not sink in anywhere.

At last they came to the hill of Huanacuti, close to where the city of Cusco now stands. There the bar of gold sank in at one stroke, and

B. XVI. Ch. 3.

they saw it no more. Then Manco Capac said to his sister, "The Sun, our father, commands that we stay here in this valley at our feet. Wherefore, queen and sister, it is right that each of us should go by different ways to collect these people together, in order to teach them and to do them good." The Prince went to the North, the Princess to the South, and told whomsoever they met that they had been sent from heaven by the Sun to bring them to a better and happier way of life. The savage people gazed with astonishment at these new beings, then listened, then obeyed. Following their instructors, who showed them how to provide for their sustenance, they came in two divisions to the valley of Cüsco. There they were taught how to build a town. Those who were brought by Manco Capac, built Hanan Cusco, the upper town; those who were brought by Mama Oello built Hurin Cusco, the lower town. Not that there was to be any difference between high and low; but the event, as it had happened, was thus to be commemorated.

A sufficient number of inhabitants having now been brought together, Manco Capac taught the men the arts that belong to man—to sow, to plant, and to irrigate the land; while Mama Oello taught the women the duties of a woman—to spin, to weave, and to make clothes for her husband and her children. Thus Cusco was founded, and thus was the Empire of the Incas commenced.

Putting aside what is marvellous in the above narrative, abridged from the words of the aged

Inca, it does not read very differently from the story of the founding of the town of Rabinal by the Dominican monks, and of their conversion of the natives of Tuzulutlan. Being, doubtless, believed in by large numbers of the Peruvians, this fable became in some measure as effective as if it had been true; and, like all other popular beliefs, rightly enters into the history of the nation.

Dominion of the Incas.

Whatever theory we may adopt to account for and explain the foregoing narrative, certain it is that at Cusco, the chief city of Peru, there had long dwelt a race of despots, claiming to be descended from the Sun, combining in their own persons imperial and papal authority, and frequently providing for a successor by marriage in their own family, which does not appear to have led to the usual results of such intermarriages, for the Incas continued to be a wise, a great, and a valiant race. Gradually they extended their dominions, ensuring the fidelity of the conquered provinces by an expedient of a very singular and politic nature, which deserves to be well studied. After conquering a province, they were wont to introduce into it a large body of their own subjects, sometimes as many as four or five thousand persons, who were to teach and control the conquered strangers, while, at the same time, they themselves, being isolated, would feel entirely dependent upon the mother country, and would be compressed into obedience by their fears of the natives in the subjugated province. They would thus be, at the same time, a garrison

Institution of the Mitimacs.

B. XVI. Ch. 3.

and a colony—a productive, tributary garrison, and a colony whose fears would make them sympathize deeply with the central power from which they sprung. These colonists were called "Mitimaes."

Independently of this mode of assuring their conquests, the general rule of the Incas was such as to secure a nearly unlimited obedience from their subjects. The whole country under their dominion was ruled with the strictness of a Roman army. There were decurions, each of whom ruled over ten men; ten of these decurions and their men were under a centurion; ten centurions and their men obeyed another official chief; and ten of these chiefs, with those under their command, formed a department under the sway of one ruler. The order of things generally was what in these days would be called socialistic, and each man had land appointed to him. In the several handicrafts a son succeeded his father.*

Decimal division of the people.

* It may naturally appear to a cautious or sceptical reader that this account of the Peruvian Empire makes it out to be too well regulated, and that it reads more like a paper constitution than a real one. But there is evidence derived from good authority, which indirectly offers strong confirmation to the statements made in the text. Herrera (adopting a statement of Acosta's,—*Hist. Moral de Indias*, lib. 6, c. 13), mentions that the Peruvian governors gave a minute account to the Court of the increase or decrease of the population in their provinces, also of the cattle, and the crops. —"Distribuyan los Ingas de tal manera sus vassallos, que con facilidad los podian Governar, con ser su Reyno tan grande. En conquistando una Provincia, la reduzian a pueblos, y contavan las parcialidades, tribus, ô linages: â cada diez Indios davan uno, que tuviesse cuenta con ellos, y a cada ciento otro, a cada mil otro, y a cada diez mil otro, y en cada Provincia avia un Governador del linage Real, *y davan menuda cuenta de los que avian nacido, y muerto, de los ganados, y de las sementeras.*"—Herrera, dec. 5, lib. 4, cap. 2.

This plan of reporting upon the state of the population, upon the cattle and the crops, had, I

Division of the lands of Peru.

The lands of Peru were divided into three parts. One part belonged to the Sun; another to the Inca; a third to the people. Every Peruvian received yearly his share of land, which depended upon the number of his family. Each man of the common people had a certain portion, called a *topu*, for himself, a *topu* for each male child, and half a *topu* for each female child. The chiefs and rulers received larger portions.

Tribute; how paid in Peru.

The Peruvian did not pay any tribute from the proceeds of his own land, and what tribute he did pay consisted entirely of personal services. The members of the royal family, the priests of the Sun, the Inca's officers of every grade, and the newly-married men, were exempt from tribute. The rest of the male population between the ages of twenty-five and fifty were tributary. All labourers of the requisite age helped in cultivating the lands of the Sun and of the Inca. The harvests were deposited in public buildings which were maintained for that purpose in every town.

The lands of the Sun.

The proceeds of the lands of the Sun, after maintaining the priests and providing for the

believe, no prototype in Spain. It was a new idea to a Spaniard; and therefore, when related of the Peruvian Government, it bears the stamp of genuineness. What minute and careful administration it indicates!

Herrera also speaks of the scrupulosity of the Peruvian governors, "who never received even a handful of maize for a present;" and he adds that there was no sale of justice and no trafficking for offices, although official appointments were much desired by the Peruvians.—"Quanto al govierno unos Governadores eran supremos inmediatos al Rey, otros mas moderados, otros particulares, tan recatados, *que de nadie recibian un puño de mayz por presente, ni avia coechos, ni pensamiento dellos, ni por ninguna via se vendia la justicia, ni la gracia, ni en nada avia negociacion*, aunque los oficios y cargos muchos los desseavan."—Dec. 5, lib. 4, cap. 1.

B. XVI. Ch. 3.

sacrifices, were devoted to the poor and the sick. What still remained, after this provision, was kept in store for the use of the neighbourhood in times of scarcity.

The Inca's portion.

The Inca's portion supported the court, the royal officers, and the army; and whatever remained was stored up in the public depositories for the use of the commonwealth in future years.

Public works executed by the tributaries.

All the great works, such as roads, aqueducts, tambos, and palaces, were executed by the tributaries. The skilled labour of the artizan was also demanded for tribute. The maintenance of the workman, and the materials for the work, were provided out of the public stores—out of the Sun's store, if the tributary were working for the Sun; out of the Inca's store, if the tributary were working for the Inca. The smith received gold, or silver, or copper (the metal most valued in Peru); the weaver, wool or cotton; the painter, colours; the husbandman, seeds.

Extent of time for personal service.

The tributary was not compelled to work more than two months in the year; and if, by the aid of his family, or by his own peculiar skill as a workman, he completed the task assigned to him in a shorter time than two months, no more was required of him.

It was a general rule that each man should assist his neighbour in the cultivation of that neighbour's land, if, from any cause, such as sickness, the assistance was necessary. There were no beggars in the state. A large family was a kind of wealth.

No beggars.

It has been seen how the Peruvians were fed.

Clothing.

The simple clothing of each family was made in

the family, the Inca providing the materials, which were distributed every second year. The greatest part of the flocks and herds in his dominions belonged to him.

It is asserted by Acosta* that the Peruvian could not hold any property, except by favour of the Inca; and no one was allowed to alienate, or to demise, his possessions.

No heirs.

This regulated despotism produced, as we might expect, great material prosperity—a prosperity, however, which would be most visible in the magnificence of the Inca's dwellings, of the temples of the gods, and of all things that could minister to the power and convenience of the reigning monarch. In a word, the kingdom of Peru was little else than the estate of the sovereign. His Court was the centre of the system. It was surrounded by astrologers, learned men (called in their language *amautas*), poets, great officers of state, and the guards of the sovereign. The Incarial system was the strongest form of despotism that has been devised by man. It rested upon a very broad basis, there being a large family of privileged persons; and the young men of the royal house were brought up with care,† as persons who would hereafter

Material prosperity of the Peruvian Empire.

* "*Hist. Moral de las Indias*, lib. 6, c. 15.

† "Tenian tambien que ayunar varios dias, ir descalzos, dormir en el suelo, vestir pobremente, y arrostrar otras privaciones tanto para acostumbrarse á las fatigas de la guerra, como para comprender y compadecer la miseria de los menesterosos."—Mariano Eduardo de Rivero y Juan Diego de Tschudi. *Antigüedades Peruanas*, c. 4, p. 72. Vienna, 1851.

B. XVI. Ch. 3.

be entrusted with great employments in the State.

The central Government received information of every kind; and, doubtless, directed everything that was to be done.* Moreover, as nothing which concerned his subjects was beneath the cognizance of the Inca, regulations had to be made for all those things which, in other countries, are matters of family or municipal administration.

Minuteness of the regulations.

The minuteness of these regulations may be judged of by the fact that the law in favour of the sick and maimed required that they should be invited two or three times a month to the public feasts, "in order that, in the general joy, they might partly forget their own miserable estate."†

It is but just to place side by side with this delicacy of humanity that characterized Peruvian legislation, the interfering tiresomeness of inspection which also was a fruit of the Incas' paternal rule. In an edict (the *ley casera*), which nearly followed the thoughtful law above referred to in favour of the sick and maimed, it is ordained that

* "Cada juez, desde el decurion hasta el gobernador, tenia obligacion de hacer mensualmente á su superior una relacion circunstanciada de lo que habia pasado en su seccion, y el Inca recibia de los vireyes un extracto del o mas importante."—*Antigüedades Peruanas*, cap. 4, p. 74.

† "*La ley en favor de los inválidos* que exigia, que fuesen alimentados con los fondos públicos los lisiados, sordos, mudos, ciegos, cojos, tullidos, decrépitos y enfermos. Tambien mandaba esta ley, que fuesen llamados dos ó tres veces al mes estos inválidos á los convites y comidas públicas, para que, en el regocijo general, olvidasen en parte su miserable éstado. El *Oncocamayoc*, ó superintendente de enfermos, era ejecutor de esta ley."—*Antigüedades Peruanas*, cap. 4, p. 80. See, to the same effect, the law quoted from Father Blas Valera, by Garcilaso de la Vega, lib. 5, cap. 11.

occupations should be provided for young children, even so young as five years of age, suitable to their years and their strength: and it is also ordained that the Peruvians should throw open their doors at dinner and at supper time, in order that the royal officers might have free ingress, to inspect the doings of the people under their charge. It seems as if mankind could never do anything well in any one direction without generating a force which carries them far beyond the good thing into some utter folly.

Learning of the Peruvians.

Of the advancement of the Peruvians in any branch of learning, or of their skill in any kind of composition, it is impossible to give an accurate account. The empire was so soon and so suddenly submerged, the immediate conquerors were so busy in securing their conquest and in quarrelling with one another, that little or no attention was given to preserve the relics of the literature of the Incas.

Dramatic literature.

It appears that the Peruvians cultivated dramatic literature, and there exists a drama with the title of *Ollanta; or, the Severity of a Father and the Generosity of a King.**

* This drama is given in Dr. Tschudi's learned work on the *Kechua-Sprache.* Unfortunately, however, a cloud hangs over the time of its production, and little, therefore, can be safely argued about it. Some say, however, that it was performed in the great square of Cusco during the time of the Incas.—"Leider sind wir in völligem Dunkel über den Ursprung dieses merkwürdigen Werkes; wir wissen nicht einmal, ob es aus der Zeit der Inca's uns überliefert wurde, oder ob es das Product der Muse eines neueren Dichters ist. Nach einigen Angaben soll das Stück schon zur Zeit der Inca's auf dem öffentlichen Platze von Cuzco aufgeführt worden sein, sogar noch nach der Eroberung." —*Die Kechua-Sprache,* von J. J. v. TSCHUDI, part 1, p. 28.

B. XVI. Ch. 3.

Haravis.

What the ancient Peruvians chiefly excelled in were probably short songs, relating principally to love, which were called *haravis*. Some of the ancient tunes still remain, and are said to be very melodious. Garcilaso de la Vega gives a specimen of the words of one of these love songs:—

Caylla llapi		Al cantico
Puñunqui	quiere	Dormirás
Chaupituta	decir,	Media noche
Samusac		Yo vendré.

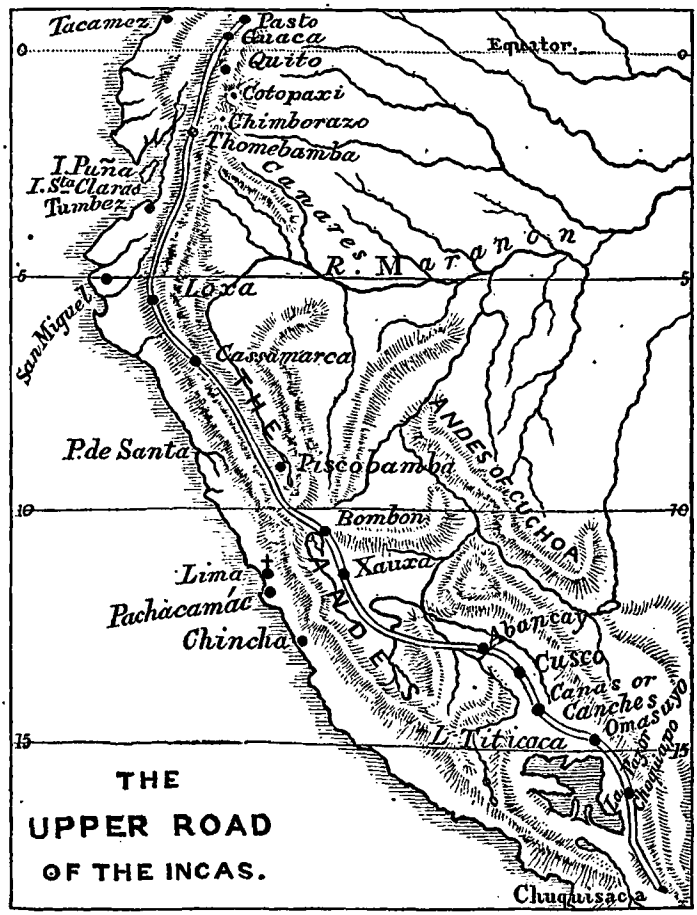
The real love songs of a nation are seldom, I suppose, the strongest parts of its literature; and the simple ditty given above, though very pleasing and intelligible to the persons principally concerned, does not hold out much promise of being very attractive to the world in general. It is probable that the Peruvians possessed a sweet, gentle, melancholy poetry for their songs, some historical plays, and some poems of a higher order, relating to the heavenly bodies and to the elements (*filosofando las Causas segundas*). It may be doubted whether the robust sense to be found in the Mexican exhortations, such as the warning against lies, because they cause confusion,* would be discovered in Peruvian literature, even if we possessed much more of it.

One great public work, or rather, royal work, Peru possessed, which was not equalled in that

* "*Oh! hijo no cures de burlerías ó mentiras porque causan confusión.*"—Las Casas, *Hist. Apologética*, cap. 223. This, though not the most exalted motive for truth, is nevertheless simple, massive, and profound.

period, and perhaps is not equalled now in any part of the world. This was a road, which, for a distance in latitude of more than twelve hundred geographical miles, brought into communication all the provinces of the Peruvian

Roads in Peru.



empire. The learned Von Humboldt mentions that he has found this road at an elevation, tested by barometrical calculations, of 12,440 feet above the sea, more than a thousand feet above the

The upper road in Peru.

B. XVI. Ch. 3.

height of the Peak of Teneriffe.* This road went northwards from Cusco to a point beyond Quito, in the province of Guaca,—and southwards, from Cusco to Chuquisaca, not far from the mines of Potosi.† We may form some notion of its magnitude, by imagining such a road to have been constructed from Calais to Constantinople, only that the Peruvian country traversed is far more difficult than that which lies between the two points designated in Europe. The road was broad enough for six men-at-arms to go abreast, or, in after days, three carriages. In some places, the beds of concrete (*mezcla*), of which the road was formed, went down from 80 to 100 feet. The rains have since washed away the earth from under the concrete, and have left masses of it suspended "like bridges made of one stone."‡ There was also a lower road, about forty§ leagues distant from the other, which traversed the level country near the sea-shore. Along these roads, at equal distances, stone caravanseries were built, called, in the language of the natives, *tambos*, or *Inca Pilca*. Not

The lower road.

* "Was ich von römischen Kunststrassen in Italien, dem südlichen Frankreich und Spanien gesehen, war nicht imposanter als diese Werke der alten Peruaner; dazu finden sich letztere nach meinen Barometer-Messungen in der Höhe von 12440 Fuss. Diese Höhe übersteigt demnach den Gipfel des Pic von Teneriffa um mehr als tausend Fuss."—*Ansichten der Natur*, vol. 2, p. 323. Stuttgart, 1849.

† In reference to the southern part of this road, see the 106th chapter of CIEÇA DE LEON'S *Chrónica del Peru*. (Seville, 1553). He had traversed the whole of Peru.

‡ See VELASCO'S *Hist. de Quito*, tom. 2, p. 59, quoted in *Antig. Per.*, p. 265.

§ "Distaba el uno camino del otro cuarenta leguas por lo ancho."—LAS CASAS, *Hist. Apologética*, MS., cap. 252.

forgetting comfort, any more than utility, the Incas had ordered trees to be planted by the sides of the roads. The historian ZÁRATE, who knew Peru well, having been sent there about twelve years after the Conquest, in speaking of these roads, says, "And he will see the difficulty of this work, who shall consider the labour and cost which have been expended in Spain in levelling two leagues of sierra which there are between the Espinar of Segovia and Guadarrama, and how it has never been finished perfectly, although it is an ordinary road, which the kings of Castille traverse so continually with their households and their court every time that they go to or come from Andalucia, or from the kingdom of Toledo to this side of the passes."*

Couriers on the Peruvian roads.

It is hardly necessary to point out the immense assistance which these arterial roads would furnish to an invading army. Couriers, called *Chasquis*† (the meaning of the word is, he who takes) were stationed along the roads at distances of about three cross-bow shots from one another. The Curacas were obliged to maintain and renew these *chasquis* each month. They lived in huts upon the road,

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* "Y verá la dificultad desta Obra, quien considerare el trabajo, y costa, que se ha empleado en España, en allanar dos Leguas de Sierra, que ay entre el Espinar de Segovia, y Guadarrama, y como nunca se ha acabado perfectamente, con ser paso ordinario, por donde tan continuamente los Reies de Castilla pasan, con sus Casas y Corte, todas las veces, que ván, ó vienen del Andalucía, ó del Reino de Toledo, á esta parte de los Puertos."—AUGUSTIN DE ZÁRATE, *Historia del Descubrimiento y Conquista de la Provincia del Perú*, lib. 1, cap. 10, p. 14. BARCIA, *Historiadores primitivos*, tom. 3.

† "Chasquis, que quiere decir, el que toma."—LAS CASAS, *Hist. Apologética*, cap. 253, MS.

B. XVI. Ch. 3.

two being appointed to each station; and one was always to be ready to start. Their symbol of authority was a sort of baton, which they carried in their hands.* The intelligence was transmitted from mouth to mouth. When one *chasqui* had received it he ran as fast as he could, until he came within earshot of the *chasqui* at the next station. At that point the first delivered his message, and the second, catching it up, ran and delivered it to the third, and so on; by which means, it is said, this human telegraph conveyed the message two or three hundred leagues in an incredibly short time.

Religion of the Peruvians.

The religion of the Peruvians requires to be especially dwelt upon in any history of them, because it not only expressed their feelings towards their celestial protector, but also towards their terrestrial monarch. It was the worship of the Sun in heaven, and the adoration of his descendant, the reigning Inca, upon earth.

The worship of the Sun in olden time.

That worship, however, was not peculiar to Peru. Wherever the Sun looked down upon a nation which had forgotten the true God, or upon a tribe struggling up from Fetish worship and the idolatry of sticks and stones, that luminary shone upon a multitude of worshippers. The religion of the Sun was, so to speak, inevitable.

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* "Para que se diese crédito al mensaje, ó mensajero, llevava un cierto palo en la mano de un palmo, ó palmo y medio, con ciertas señales, como entre nosotros se usa que se da crédito al que trae las armas ó sello del Rey."—Las Casas, *Hist. Apologética*, cap. 253, MS.

Sun-worship the one great idolatry.

It was not one idolatry amongst many of similar pretensions, but the idolatry of idolatries; and it is scarcely travelling beyond the bounds of just conjecture, to imagine, that, if space be peopled by systems the least like our own, every star in the firmament may have been a false god, devoutly worshipped in the early ages of that system in which it is the central Light. This astral idolatry, therefore, may not merely be mundane, but universal. And here, in our planet, what names, replete with all the dread that belongs to great antiquity and acknowledged power over the hearts of men, the worship of the Sun recals!—the Chaldæan Empire on the plains of Shinaar, great Babylon, the lofty hills in Persia, Zoroaster and the Magi, the mysterious Sanscrit Om, the Egyptian On, the beautiful Hindoo Creeshna, and radiant Apollo. The time-honoured myths of Eos and Aurora, the vocal Memnon, Endymion lightly kissed on Latmos Mount, the heaven-descended Rajahs of India, the lordly Baal, the queenlike Astarte, and even the greater names of Veeshnu, Zeus, and Brahma, rise before us as illustrations of an idolatry, which, above all others, expressed the early belief of pious men, and which, with their knowledge, we hardly feel to have been idolatry. But these religions of the old world are lost in the dim periods of fable and tradition. Some of them are so ancient, that they seem almost to have belonged to another world; while, in considering the worship in Peru, and reflecting that it was approached in all its glory by men so little remote from and so like ourselves

B. XVI. Ch. 3.

as the men in the sixteenth century, we are almost startled at the thought how near we have been to one of the great old religions of the world.

Although, however, the worship of the Sun may have been universal, and, at some time or other, have prevailed in every tribe or nation, it mostly passed away into a lower form of idolatry, or into a more humanized and spiritual religion. It was only with some few nations, amongst whom the Persians and the Peruvians were the most remarkable, that the development of the religion was arrested at that particular point at which the Sun was the visible, unidealized, superintending Deity, not metamorphosed into something manlike, but being worshipped in his orbicular form,—a mode of idolatry which the lively and plastic Greek, or the sedate, governing Roman could never have endured.

Literal worship of the Sun among the Peruvians.

Versed as we are in second-hand thoughts about Nature, but seldom or never surrendering ourselves to its influence, it must always be a great effort for us to enter into the feelings with which a Persian, a Babylonian, a Hindoo, or a Peruvian was impressed, when beholding the natural phenomena that came so close to him in his bright atmosphere. Intellectually, and even graphically, we perceive it all. We can easily imagine, and perhaps even pourtray, the assembled multitudes, waiting to see the sacred fire rekindled, or to welcome, with unutterable fervour, the rising of the sun upon some morning of a solemn festival. But our northern natures can hardly comprehend how the sun,

and the moon, and the stars were imaged in the heart of a Peruvian, and dwelt there:—how the changes in these luminaries were combined with all his feelings and his fortunes; how the dawn was Hope to him; how the fierce mid-day brightness was Power to him; how the declining sun was Death to him; and how the new morning was a Resurrection to him:—nay, more, how the sun, and the moon, and the stars were his personal friends, as well as his deities; how he held communion with them, and thought that they regarded every act and word; how, in his solitude, he fondly imagined that they sympathized with him; and how, with outstretched arms, he appealed to them against their own unkindness, or against the injustice of his fellow-man.*

The great chief, nearly allied to the throne, and longing for high employment, went out from the presence of his sovereign, elated or confounded by a look, and told his joy or his grief to the listening god of Day; or, perhaps, with an aching

* For a full expression of the ideas in the text see an article on "Comparative Mythology," in the *Oxford Essays*, by PROFESSOR MAX MÜLLER, rich with truthful and with subtle thought, from which I subjoin the following extract. "The sunrise was the revelation of nature, awakening in the human mind that feeling of dependence, of helplessness, of hope, of joy and faith in higher powers, which is the source of all wisdom, the spring of all religion. But if sunrise inspired the first prayers, called forth the first sacrificial flames, sunset was the other time when, again, the whole frame of man would tremble. The shadows of night approach, the irresistible power of sleep grasps man in the midst of his pleasures, his friends depart, and in his loneliness his thoughts turn again to higher powers. When the day departs, the poet bewails the untimely death of his bright friend; nay, he sees is his short career the likeness of his own life."—*Oxford Essays*, 1856, p. 59.

B. XVI. Ch. 3.

feeling of envy at his heart, confided to the Sun his anxious misgivings about the rise at Court of a brother *Orejon*, "a mean man, given to terrestrial things, who loves you not," he said, addressing the luminary, "as I do." The sensitive *Amduta*, vexed at the more skilful flattery (more skilful, perhaps, because less delicate and true) just recited at Court by another *Amauta*, the reigning Inca sitting by, deplored, in wailing accents to the Sun, the want of refinement among princes, even his descendants; and prayed for a larger measure of the right kind of inspiration, which should suit the present age. The Peruvian lover left the overpowering presence of his mistress, (as lovers in all countries and all ages have done, and will do), only to think more freely over the transcendent merits of the loved maiden, and to weary the Moon with idle repetitions of great praise and joy. Our inspirations, more fervid when we are within four walls, our nicely-weighed addresses to the heavenly bodies, uttered with musing, downcast eyes, were unknown to the Peruvians, who in the open air, spoke boldly up to the living creatures, for so they deemed them, of their poetic idolatry. The astrologer, perhaps, was the only Peruvian who scanned the heavens in a cold and business-like manner, and wished that he could see his way more clearly in deriving knowledge from those wandering lights: while the Sacred Virgin, when the hot Sun poured down upon her cloistered retreat, regarded him with the rapt enthusiasm of religious love, scorning, for a moment, the pale, terrestrial joys, but yet so dear, of other

How the Peruvians communed with the heavenly bodies.

girls, and with a sad, stifling feeling at the heart, trampled down, as best she might, the inextinguishable motherhood that dwells in every woman's breast.

As for sacrifices, what is there which a Peruvian would not have given to these great and glorious personages in the upper air,—his flocks and herds, his slaves, his captives, the choicest works of his hand, and even his own life?

Once penetrated, if only for a moment, by a sense of the utter abandonment to adoration that existed in the souls of these Peruvians, we may bring before ourselves the depth of meaning which was expressed in any of their great rites, celebrated upon spots which the Sun seemed, indeed, to have chosen for his own, where around, for unnumbered leagues, he shot his burning rays, through unimpeding atmosphere, upon the tawny earth; where the calm level sea, the boundless desert, and the clear mountain, with its sharp shadows, formed a fitting amphitheatre for his majesty; and where the Moon, his sister or his spouse, seldom appeared, except with a full Court, surrounded by innumerable lesser lights, waiting to do her honour.

The Feast of Raymí.

Having some such picture in our minds, we may, with a hope of appreciating what Peruvians felt, listen to an account of the principal festival of the Sun, that which was called the feast of Raymí, celebrated at the summer solstice in great Cusco.

B. XVI. Ch. 3.

Long before the feast, from all quarters of the Empire, the principal lords, the captains who had distinguished themselves in war, and the noblest of each race, were all tending to the central city.

The dark crowds, which are familiar to our eyes in modern festivals, bear no resemblance to this gorgeous assemblage, blazing with gold and silver (courting every reflection of their beloved light), adorned with garlands, and rich with bright-coloured vestments of every hue. High up above the crowd flapped lazily in the hot air imperial banners, the pictured representations of great deeds, all done in honour of the Sun.

The preceding fast.

Previously, however, to the feast, there was a fast, emblematic of that suffering which gives to joy its highest relish, and which naturally precedes it. This fast was strictly maintained for three successive days; and Fire, that divine thing, was used by no man.

Preparation of the sacrifices and the bread.

The eve before the festival, the royal priests of the reigning House inspected and prepared the sacrifices. The virgins dedicated to the Sun kneaded the bread (only used on these occasions) which was to be given on the ensuing day, in communion, to the host of royal and great personages, while innumerable maidens prepared a similar bread that was to be divided, in like communion, amongst the whole assembled multitude.

Relighting of the sacred fire.

The sacred fire was now to be relit. Accordingly, the High-Priest took a large bracelet, on which was a burnished concave mirror, by the aid of which he collected the rays of the sun, and igniting some red cotton, received from "the

God's own Hand," the new fire that was to be burnt in the temple, and by the Sacred Virgins, and that was to consume the sacrifices from which the auguries of good and evil for the coming year were to be divined.

At last, the day of the festival arrived. Early in the dark morning the great square of the city was full of anxious beings, marshalled in due order according to their rank, unshod and reverently waiting the rise of their divinity. The hearts of all men there were beating high with hope and dread. Perchance he might not deign to appear on this his festal day. Suddenly a chill shudder of expectation ran through the crowd, and each man knew, though none had spoken, that the awful moment was at hand. Over the mountains came the silent herald, Dawn; and, then, swiftly following, the Sun himself. At the first sight of their God, the assembled multitude fell down before him, a waving mass of kneeling figures, who, with open arms and outstretched hands, blew kisses in the air,—their way of showing the humblest and most affectionate adoration. The brightness of the crowd lost none of its effect from their being encircled by the sombre walls of the palaces and the temple.*

Up rose the Inca—the one erect amidst so many prostrate; the one dark spot, for he alone wore black† (the sacred colour), amidst that

* "The walls of their palaces were built of huge stones of a dark slate-colour."—MARKHAM's *Cuzco*, p. 106.

† I conjecture, from a passage in GARCILASO DE LA VEGA, that black was the colour, but it may have been a deep crimson, which was the royal colour.

B. XVI. Ch. 3.

shining multitude. He then took two large golden vases full of wine, prepared by the Sacred Virgins. With the vase in his right hand, he pledged his great progenitor, the Sun. Having done this, he poured the wine into a wide-mouthed golden jar, from whence it flowed into a beautifully-wrought conduit-pipe, that led from the great square into the Temple. Thus it was that the Sun drank the wine that was pledged to him. The Inca then took a sip from the golden vase which he held in his left hand, and poured out the rest, drop by drop, into other golden vases, which the members of the Incarial family held in their hands. The chiefs, however great, who were not of royal race, did not partake the wine that had been sanctified by the Inca, though they were allowed to drink of that which the Virgins of the Sun had made.

The Inca drinks to the Sun.

These virgins took the greatest part in the preparation of the viands for this festal day, because it was considered that the banquet was given by the Sun to his children, not offered by his children to him.

Procession to the Temple.

A procession was then formed. The Inca, and those of his lineage, proceeded towards the Temple. Halting at a short distance, all but the Inca himself took off their sandals. They then entered the Temple, where the Monarch made an offering of the two golden vases. The rest of the Incas offered the vases from which they had drunk. The chiefs then came to the door of the Temple and presented their offerings, which consisted of golden ornaments in the likeness of those animals

The offerings made.

and birds which belonged to their respective countries.

The presentation of offerings being completed, the Incas, and the rulers, and the chief captains, returned to their appointed places in the great square. The priests now came out, with a large number of the animals that were to be sacrificed. Conspicuous amongst them was a black lamb, appointed to be the sacrifice from which the auguries were to be deduced. This lamb, with its head turned towards the East, but with its feet unbound, was then slain; the auguries were determined; and the rest of the animals were slaughtered, certain parts of them being offered to the Sun. The remainder of their flesh was roasted, and divided amongst the worshippers. Together with this flesh, the sacred bread was eaten by all present, from the highest to the lowest.* Nothing was drunk then, as it was not the custom in Peru to eat and to drink at the same time.

The sacrifice of a black lamb.

The eating being over, the Inca, seated on his golden throne, pledged the captains and principal men whom he wished to honour in the following manner. He sent two of his relations, who bore the titles of Hanan Cusco and Hurin Cusco, round amongst the guests. They carried

The Inca drinks to his captains and his rulers.

* "Toda la carne de aquel Sacrificio asavan en público, en las dos Plaças, y la repartian por todos los que se avian hallado en la Fiesta, así Incas, como Curacas, y la demás gente comun, por sus grados. Y á los unos, y á los otros se la davan con el Pan llamado Zancu; y este era el primer plato de su gran Fiesta, y Banquete solenne."—Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*, lib. 6, cap. 22.

B. XVI. Ch. 3.

two golden vessels exactly similar.* The ministering Incas said to the chief whom they approached, "The Zapa Inca sends to invite you to drink, and I come in his name to drink with you." Then the ruler or captain took, with great reverence, the vase offered to him, raised his eyes to the Sun, in silent acknowledgment of this undeserved honour which His descendant was offering to him, and having drunk, returned the vase, making great demonstrations of veneration, and blowing kisses into the air.

The chiefs and captains who were less favoured were drunk to by the ministering Incas in their own persons.

The captains drink to the Inca.

After a short interval, the chiefs and captains returned the pledge, and advanced to drink with the Inca, or with those Incas who had pledged them. The vases that had been touched by the lips of the Inca himself were preserved in great veneration by the chiefs and captains who had enjoyed the honour of drinking with him. This ceremony ended, they returned to their seats, whereupon the dances, the songs, and the games in which each nation delighted, commenced, and the remainder of that day and eight succeeding days were spent in great festivity.

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* "Para este brindarse, que unos á otros se hacian, es de saber, que todos estos Indios generalmente (cada uno en su tanto) tuvieron, y oi tienen los vasos para beber, todos hermanados de dos en dos, ó sean grandes, ó chicos, han de ser de un tamaño, de una misma hechura, de un mismo metal, de Oro, ó Plata, ó de madera. Y esto hacian porque huviese igualdad en lo que se bebiese."—Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*, lib. 6, cap. 23.

It must not be supposed that the Sun alone absorbed the devotion of the Peruvians. There was little in nature that they did not contrive to make a deity of. The Moon, as the spouse of the sun, the planet Venus his page, the Pleiades, and the remarkable constellation of the Southern Cross, were minor deities. The rainbow and lightning were also worshipped as servants of the Sun; and fire, air, earth, and water, were not without adoration. Then there were deities raised from the ranks of heroic men. Some of these were worshipped by the whole nation; others, the *Huacas*, were local divinities, and enjoyed provincial honours. These local deities were commemorated by statues. Then there were deities like the lares and penates of the Romans. The mummies of their forefathers, and a great stone which was always placed in a corner of a field near each country house or cottage, may be counted amongst the domestic divinities of the Peruvians.

Celestial deities of Peru.

Terrestrial deities.

Lastly, there were personal deities, called *Conopas*, which did not descend from father to son, but were adopted by each individual in commemoration of any remarkable incident in his life. These were generally hung about the neck, and were buried with the person who owned them. They were often in the form of animals, such as alpacas and vicuñas, or even of birds, fishes, and lizards. It appears, therefore, that everything that had life was regarded with a certain veneration by the Peruvians; and this is the

Personal deities.

B. XVI. Ch. 3.

point at which their system begins to touch the more abstruse religions of Eastern India.*

Such, as above described, was the religion of the Court; but it is generally conjectured (though this is a strange supposition) that the religion of the Incas was superimposed upon, and artfully connected with, an earlier and simpler worship—namely, that of an invisible deity, Pachacamác. This religion was monotheistic. Enough remained of it to show the difference between it and the worship of the Sun, like some early geological formation which is lifted up, and comes out from among the prevailing and upper strata, and which surely reveals a prior order of things.

An earlier religion than that of the Sun.

The Supreme Being, in this earlier religion, bore the name of Con.† By his word alone he created the world; but men fell into sin, and neglected the worship of their Creator: whereupon he made the fertile regions deserts, and converted men into animals. The earth remained sterile and uninhabited, until Pachacamác, the son of Con, renewed all the things that had been destroyed by his father, and re-created man. On the sea-shore, not far south of where Lima now stands, stood the great Temple of Pachacamác, fondly regarded by all Peruvians, which the Incas had not ventured to destroy, but had artfully, or liberally, according to a true Roman fashion,

Temple of Pachacamác.

* See *Antigüedades Peruanas*, p. 176.

† Such is the name mentioned by Las Casas in his *Historia Apologética*, as well as by later writers.

connected with their own religion, placing a temple of the Sun close to it, making out that the Sun was the father of Con and Pachacamác, and thus strengthening themselves by alliance with these primæval deities.

The Peruvians believed in the immortality of the soul, in a resurrection, and in a system of rewards and punishments after death. They had also a powerful evil deity, named Supay, who was, however, subordinate to Pachacamác.

Human sacrifices.

With regard to human sacrifices, though Garcilaso de la Vega denies the existence of them, I fear the balance of evidence is clearly in favour of the statement that human sacrifices, at least of children, were not unknown, or had not, at some times and in some places,* been unknown amongst the Peruvians. Their sacrifices, however, cannot be compared in frequency and ferocity with those of the Mexicans. One witness not hitherto brought forward, I believe, by any of those persons who have discussed the religion of the Peruvians, is Vicente de Valverde, who was afterwards made

Testimony of Father Valverde.

* The remarks in the *Antigüedades Peruanas* respecting human sacrifices form the only part of that laborious and most judicious work, which, I should venture to say, requires more consideration. We should pause and ponder much, before we take away the character of a great people on such an important point as that of human sacrifices. In discussing the history of Peru, we are speaking of a large territory and a long period of time; and we must beware of the danger of construing occasional misdeeds into a permanent mal-practice amongst a whole people. The history of Peru, written by Balboa, is likely to be more truthful as it approaches the time of the Spanish occupation of the country; and it is noticeable that he makes no mention of human sacrifices as occurring at the death of Huayna Capac, or on the coming to the throne of Guascar Inca.

B. XVI. Ch. 3. Bishop of Cusco. In a most interesting narrative, which he addressed to the Emperor, Charles the Fifth, he says :—"They sacrificed sheep and doves to the Sun, for amongst the principal lords, and in the greater part of the country, they did not sacrifice men, nor adore idols, only the Sun, although in some provinces subject to this lord, they sacrifice men and adore idols."*

In the above description of Peruvian affairs, enough has been stated to convey to the reader that Peru was a great kingdom, under a strong despotic government, possessing already many of the results of high civilization. Still it was a civilization like that which has been often seen in oriental despotisms, of a somewhat barren kind, which does not easily extend itself beyond certain limits; where men, in masses, do great things, build huge pyramids and temples, construct vast canals and roads, contrive to get a great deal of sustenance out of the earth (the Peruvians were well acquainted with the use of Guano. guano, and were wont to set apart certain islands for the purpose of fertilizing particular provinces), and to breed up millions of well-contented, unambitious, restful, slavish men, each

* "*Sacrifican ovexas y palomas al Sol, porque entre los señores principales y en la mayor parte de la tierra, no sacrificavan ombres ni adoran ídolos sino al Sol, aunque en algunas provincias sujetas á este señor* (no doubt, the Inca of Cusco) *sacrifican ombres y adoran ídolos.*"—*Carta de* VICENTE DE VALVERDE *al Emperador Cárlos Quinto*, dated Cusco, April 2, 1539, p. 36. A copy of this MS. is to be found in Sir Thomas Phillipps's library at Middle Hill.

generation having but too close a family resemblance to the preceding one.

All human forms and systems lose their first fluency or elasticity, become crystallized, and generally last too long. Thus it may have been with the rule of the Incas, which, at first, perhaps, was a beneficent moulding of many scattered tribes into one harmonious and well-regulated empire. Certainly, it must be confessed that in Peru everything stopped short. There were magnificent roads, but traversed by no wheel. The wheel, though, is a great invention, and possibly there are things as simple as the wheel which lie close to us, and, yet, are hidden from our apprehension. In the Peruvian architecture, however, the same defect is visible. Immense stones were put together with exceeding care and consummate skill; but we look in vain for a vaulting or an arch.* In some part of the working of the precious metals, who have ever been more skilful than Peruvian workmen?† But they did not know the use of the iron which lay about them, and one hatchet would have been worth an infinity of golden toys. Each man may have improved a little upon the work of his father,

The Peruvian civilization fell short.

No arches.

No iron work.

* This has been denied, but the exceptions are too rare and too small to be held to invalidate the rule.

† "Baste que afirmo aver visto que con dos pedaços de cobre, y otras dos o tres piedras vi hazer baxillas, y tan bien labradas y llenos los bernegales fuentes, y candeleros de follages y labores, que tuvieran bien que hazer otros officiales en hazerlo tal y tan bueno con todos los adereços y herramientas que tienen."—Cieça de Leon, *Chrónica del Peru*, cap. 114.

B. XVI. Ch. 3.

but it would have been impertinent in him to invent any new process. Were there not the god-descended Incas, at Cusco, whose business it was to tell mankind, at the proper time, of any new thing that might be needed? The same stopping-short is to be seen in the religion of Peru. The wonderful mysticism and depths of devotion* which exist in the Brahminical creed, the vast aspirations of loving piety which are to be found in the Persian poets, were seemingly unknown to the more literal Peruvian. Any kind of free-thinking seems to have been a privilege reserved for the Incas themselves. One of them is said to have ingeniously suggested, that a creator must be present at creation:† whereas, the

No mysticism in their devotion.

* "They (the Védántis and Súfis) concur in believing, that the souls of men differ infinitely in *degree*, but not at all in *kind*, from the divine spirit, of which they are *particles*, and in which they will ultimately be absorbed; that the spirit of God pervades the universe, always immediately present to his work, and consequently always in substance; that He alone is perfect benevolence, perfect truth, perfect beauty; that the love of Him alone is *real* and genuine love, while that of all other objects is *absurd* and illusory; that the beauties of nature are faint resemblances—like images in a mirror—of the divine charms; that, from eternity without beginning to eternity without end, the Supreme Benevolence is occupied in bestowing happiness, or the means of attaining it; that men can only attain it by performing their part of the *primal covenant* between them and the Creator; that nothing has a pure absolute existence but *mind* or *spirit;* that *material substances*, as the ignorant call them, are no more than gay *pictures*, presented continually to our *minds* by the sempiternal Artist; that we must beware of attachment to such *phantoms*, and attach ourselves exclusively to God, who truly exists in us, as we exist solely in Him; that we retain, even in this forlorn state of separation from our beloved, the *idea* of *heavenly beauty*, and the *remembrance* of our *primeval vows*."—*The Works of* Sir William Jones, vol. 4, p. 219. London, 1807.

† What is meant, I suppose, is, that the Creator must be continually present, to maintain what he has created.

Sun, he said, is often absent. Another Inca remarked, that this perpetual travelling of the Sun was a sign of servitude, and he threw doubts upon the divine nature of such an unquiet thing as that great luminary appeared to him to be.*

In Astronomy the Mexicans more advanced.

As regards astronomy, the Peruvian looked up at the heavens as much as the Mexican, probably more so; but the discoveries in astronomical science known at Cusco were quite trivial when compared with those which had been made in the valley of Anahuac.

The *quippus* a poor device.

Again, nothing can well be ruder than the Peruvian mode of keeping record. It is true that the *Amauta* made an astonishing use of his knots and coloured silks in the *quippus;* but, surely it is a matter of wonder that an intelligent people, having so much to record and to communicate, should have been contented with sticks and strings as their means of recording.

That the government of the Peruvians was full of good devices,—that it was nearly the best thing that an unlimited despotism could come to,—may be admitted; but it must be recollected that the great mass of Peruvians lived under an Inspector and Accuser (such were, in part, the offices of the Decurion) who had only nine other persons to survey.

Still, the Peruvian Empire was an extraordinary, and, in some measure, a felicitous production. Any thoughtful man would have

* "Que cosa tan inquieta no le parescia ser Dios."—GARCILASO DE LA VEGA, quoting ACOSTA, *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*, lib. 9, cap. 10.

B. XVI. Ch. 3.

The Incas intermarry with the Borgias.

hesitated to overturn such a dynasty as that of the Incas, which, strange enough, was to lose its vast possessions, abdicate its great claims, and, finally, be absorbed, by marriage, into the family of Borgia, thus to become mere European nobles, looking up for ancestors to the Sun and to Alexander the Sixth.*

A curious piece of evidence, as to the admirable nature of the Peruvian polity, is to be found in the will of a Spanish conqueror (the Capitan Mancio Sierra de Leguizamo) who has hitherto been known only as the most remarkable gambler on record. The golden image of the Sun, in the Temple at Cusco, fell to the lot of this man as his share of the plunder. He lost it in one night's play; whence arose the well-known proverb, applied to any great gambler, "He plays away the sun before it rises" (*Juega el sol antes que salga*). This man, in his will,† thus expresses himself:— "We found these kingdoms governed in such a manner, that throughout them there was not a thief, nor idler, nor a vicious man; neither was there any adulterous or bad woman. The lands, the mountains, the mines, the pastures, the houses, the woods, were governed and divided in such a manner, that each man knew and kept to his own estate. There were no law-suits‡ about

* See *Recuerdos de la Monarquia Perüana*, por Don Justo Sahuaraura, Inca, p. 42. Paris, 1850.

† A copy of the will is to be found in the *Crónica Moralizada del Orden de S. Augustin por el P^e M^o* F. Antonio de la Calancha. Barcelona, 1638.

‡ The testimony of this aged conqueror must not be taken literally, respecting the non-

property. The affairs of war did not hinder those of commerce, nor those of commerce the affairs of agriculture. In everything, from the smallest to the greatest matter, there was concert and arrangement. The Incas were feared, obeyed, and respected, as a wise race, of much ability in government." He then says, that the Spaniards (speaking of himself as one of them) have destroyed, with their bad example, people of such good government as these natives of Peru were. He mentions that, if a Peruvian had 100,000 *pesos* of gold in his house, he left it with a little wooden bar across the entrance, merely as a sign that he was not at home, which prevented any one from entering; and that when the Peruvians saw the Spaniards putting up doors with locks and keys, they (the Peruvians) thought that it was done from fear of them, for they did not imagine that anybody would rob, or take away another man's property.* Finally, the Spaniard deplores that this extreme of innocence (*aquel estremo de no hazer cosa mala*), in the Peruvians, has been changed, by bad example, into nothing good being done by them. He

Testimony of a conqueror to the good government of the Incas.

existence of law-suits amongst the Peruvians. Whatever law-suits there were, however, were always decided in less than five days. Here again we may notice a certain short-coming in the Peruvian mind; for these refinements and difficulties which we meet with in the interpretation of the laws of other nations, though often very vexatious, are yet great endeavours of the human mind to provide with subtle discrimination for every variety of property and complication of interest in it.

* "Quando ellos vieron que nosotros poniamos puertas y llaves en nuestras casas, entendieron que era de miedo dellos, porque no nos matasen, pero no porque creyesen que ninguno urtase, ni tomase otro su azienda."—CALANCHA, *Crónica*, lib. 1, cap. 15.

B. XVI. Ch. 3. asks from the King a remedy for these evils; and, as the last of the Conquerors left alive, thus discharges his conscience,—by setting forth, in a solemn instrument to be communicated to His Majesty, the state of things in Peru, which it concerned the King's soul to know, as well as his own soul to declare.

The conclusion which, I suppose, a philosophic statesman, accustomed to compare different forms of government, would come to, after considering the system impressed upon their people by the Incas of Peru, is that such a despotism ranks high among despotisms, and might have been good, considering the time, the people, and the place; that the rudest kind of freedom, however, with all its difficulties and shortcomings, is much better; and that, in the process of advancing civilization, systems of government may gradually be developed which shall combine great personal freedom and public immunity, together with those arrangements for humanity, beauty, and social enjoyment of life, which the existence of large numbers of people living together ought to further rather than to hinder, but which despotic governments of a paternal character have hitherto taken most heed of.*

In speaking of the dynasty of the Incas, of their policy, their laws, their religion, and the

* There can be no insuperable reason, for instance, in the nature of things, why towns should be ill-built, ill-ventilated, and ill-drained, because they are to be inhabited by an immense number of free men.

state of the provinces which they allured under their sway, or conquered, or overawed, we must remember that, whatever account may be adopted, it was a dynasty that lasted for a long period, probably for several hundred years. In the course of this time, many monarchs of many minds must have reigned. Some were eminently placable, others fierce and cruel. Some were devoted to the religion of the Sun; others, perhaps, like the Inca, Titi Upanguy, indulged in a lofty scepticism as to the popular religion, and openly declared their belief in a great first Cause.* There must

Any statement from the confused records of a long period must admit of large exceptions.

* This Inca is represented as addressing his assembled priests in the following manner: —"O fils ignorants de la terre que votre faible entendement rend indignes d'un titre plus élevé! comment peut-il se faire que vous qui êtes prêtres, et en cette qualité honorés et respectés par toutes les nations, vous partagiez les erreurs de la populace, et que vous admettiez des traditions aussi vulgaires, par celá seul qu'elles sont anciennes? Puisque vous n'avez autre chose à faire que de réfléchir sur les choses saintes, comment votre esprit peut-il se contenter de croyances que le peuple commence déjà à mepriser? . . . Comment, pourrais-je regarder comme le maitre du monde et le seigneur universel celui qui pour éclairer la terre est obligé de travailler comme un ouvrier à la journée, de paraître et disparaitre pour qu'il fasse jour dans un endroit quand il fait nuit dans un autre, de s'eloigner de nous pour produire l'hiver, et de se rapprocher pour ramener le printemps; Il n'est donc pas tout puissant, car il n'aurait pas besoin d'aller et de venir, ni de quitter son trône, en supposant qu'il en ait un. Mes frères et mes pères, cherchez quel est celui qui commande au Soleil, qui lui ordonne de parcourir sa carrière, et regardez-le comme le créateur universel et tout-puissant. Si quelqu'un de vous peut répondre à mon raisonnement, qu'il le fasse; sans cela je nierai le pouvoir du Soleil. Je le regarde comme mon père, mais je nie sa toute-puissance sur les affaires du monde."—*Histoire de Perou*, par Miguel Cavallo Balboa, Ternaux Compans, vol. 7, pp. 59, 60.

Whatever doubts a severe criticism might throw upon the accuracy of this speech, it must be noticed that it corresponds with Garcilaso de la Vega's statement derived from very different sources.

B. XVI. Ch. 3.

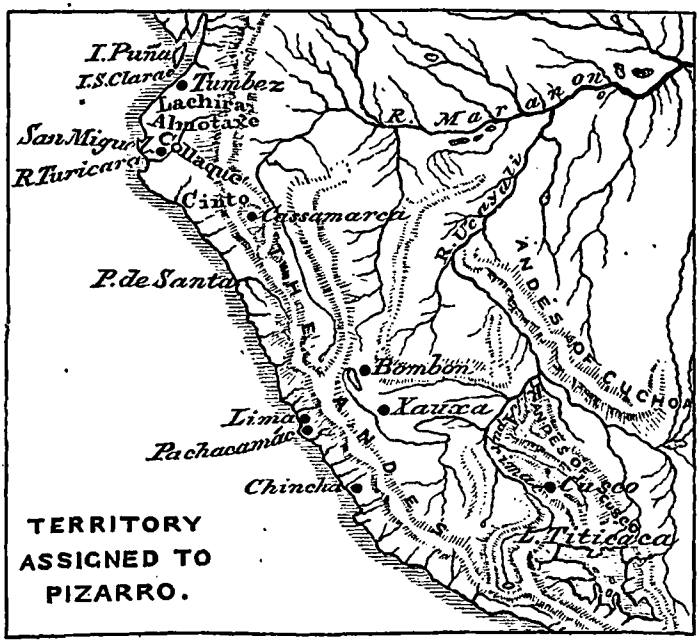
have been (unless, indeed, the Incas were really descendants from the Sun, and very different from human beings) eldest sons, who did not take exactly the same views as their fathers. Human sacrifices may, on certain occasions, have been permitted or enjoined by some Incas, while others were true to humanity, and allowed no human blood to stain any altar which was thoroughly within their jurisdiction.

Again, how different must have been the state of the various provinces, widely dissevered from each other by distance, by climate, by differences in religion, language, and in almost ineradicable customs: Even after the most skilful and forcible welding together of the various elements of the Empire, many contrarieties must be supposed to have existed. It is, therefore, but a rude and inadequate sketch that can be given, with the materials that remain to us, of such an empire as that of Peru.

Feuds in the royal House of Peru.

Passing, now, from the internal state of the empire, to what more nearly concerns this narrative at present, namely, the state of the royal family at the time of the Spanish Conquest, it will be necessary to take up the story at a period about thirty or forty years previous to Pizarro's landing. It was then that Huayna Capac, the reigning Inca, or the son of the reigning Inca, went out from Cusco northwards, to the province of Quito; and, conquering it, annexed it to the crown of Peru. By the daughter of the Lord of Quito, he had a son called Atahuallpa

("*Atahu*," virtue, in the Latin sense of valour, and "*allpa*," sweet). It is probable that in consequence of this conquest, he caused the great road that has just been described, to be made from Cusco to Quito, or rather, to be prolonged to Quito, from some intermediate point



between the two cities. If so, this renowned Inca, both by his conquest and his road-making, must have greatly facilitated the destruction of his royal race. Such are the triumphs of men! This road must have been worked at when Columbus was finding his way from Spain to the West India Islands, so that, in more ways than one, the path was being smoothed for the hardy Asturian or Biscayan, who had seldom seen anything more valuable than dirty little adulterated

B. XVI. Ch. 3.

bits of silver, to the golden-plated temples of the Sun. Happily, men move about, for the most part, in a sort of mist, which allows them dimly to apprehend the present, but which infuses itself between their dull eyes and the future as completely as if it were the most impenetrable thing in nature. And so Huayna Capac, the boasted descendant of the Sun, heir to so much wisdom, little thought what mischief to his country he had unwittingly been the cause of, when, just before his death, he heard of the advent of a few strange-looking, bearded men, who had landed at a remote part of his dominions,—for, doubtless, he did hear of that apparition of Pedro de Candia at the palace and temple of Tumbez. This intelligence, however, probably filled the Inca with strange fears and misgivings; and some expressions of his may be the origin of those reports mentioned in the Spanish historians, that the Peruvians themselves had already forecast the fate of their dynasty. That dynasty was now a kingdom divided against itself. Huayna Capac was dead, and between his sons an internecine war was raging when Pizzaro landed, for the second time, at Tumbez.

Huayna Capac heard of the Spaniards having touched upon his coasts.

Atahuallpa, as before said, was the son of Huayna Capac, by the daughter of the conquered Lord of Quito; but he was considered illegitimate —not in our modern and narrow sense of the word, but simply that, not having a mother of the imperial race, he could not succeed to the throne of the Incas. Huayna Capac had other children who were legitimate, and of whom Guascar Inca

Atahuallpa's history.

(so called, as some say, from a golden chain* of immense size which was used at the dances given in honour of his birth) was the eldest, and therefore of right succeeded to the throne of Cusco. B. XVI. Ch. 3.

Atahuallpa is said to have been a favourite of his father; he succeeded in gaining the affections of some of the late Inca's generals; and, after his father's death, whether by right, by fraud, or by force, he established himself upon the throne of Quito. The story then becomes very tangled, and is told in different ways. The main facts, however, are simply these:—that there were two brothers, both of them despots, dividing an inheritance, and the usual result in such cases took place in this. Guascar Inca, no doubt, beheld with concern the occupation of Quito by his brother, and regretted the division of a kingdom which had been ruled over by one supreme Inca. On the other hand, Atahuallpa doubtless considered himself as the legitimate sovereign of Quito, in right of his mother's claims, and would naturally be unwilling to render homage to Guascar Inca. War ensued between the brothers; and, while Pizarro was founding the town of San Miguel, Atahuallpa, by means of his generals, Quizquiz and Chilicuchima, had invaded Guascar's territories, taken Cusco, and made Guascar himself a prisoner. Quizquiz had exercised the utmost barbarities upon the royal race of Cusco, whom, though very numerous, he had nearly succeeded in exterminating; and, with Guascar

Atahuallpa establishes himself upon the throne of Quito.

* 'Huasca' means, in Quichuan, a rope.

B. XVI. Ch. 3.

himself as prisoner, the victorious general was returning from the South to rejoin his master, Atahuallpa, in Cassamarca, at the very time when the Spaniards were descending from the North, and making their way to meet Atahuallpa in that beautiful valley. The dates of these transactions are a little dubious, but I assume that Atahuallpa's troops had already gained this victory, and I am strengthened in that assumption by the fact that Atahuallpa, when first seen by the Spaniards, wore the tasselled diadem which belonged to the Incas alone.

NOTE.—In the space, necessarily very limited, which can be given here to any account of the government of Peru, it is impossible to demonstrate how such a system could have been made to work in practice. But, indeed, to describe the functions of any officer in a country with which we are ever so well acquainted, or to explain to a foreigner how any portion of practical life is managed amongst us, is always a task that surprises him who undertakes it, by its difficulty. Human beings arrange at last some mode of action by which rules and systems, apparently most intractable, are adopted into daily life, and made to work with very little trouble. In Peru, the annual apportionment of land seems almost impossible; but it was probably little more than nominal; and the change that took place in any year in the holding of land might not have been more than was exactly requisite to meet the change in the circumstances of the population. Moreover, it is not said that the land was divided into three *equal* parts between the Sun, the Inca, and the people; and these portions might have been constantly varying in different parts of the kingdom. As the people's portion was increased, the Inca's might have been diminished, though at the same time rendered more productive by the additional labour brought to bear upon it.

I have omitted to mention the order in which the yearly husbandry of Peru was performed. First, the lands of the Sun were attended to; then, the portions of land belonging to widows, orphans, those who, from age or infirmity, were incompetent to work, and soldiers employed in service, whose wives entered into the list of widows; then, the lands of the Curaca; then, the portions of the common people; lastly, the estates of the Inca.

CHAPTER IV.

PIZARRO MARCHES FROM SAN MIGUEL TO CASSAMARCA — PROJECTED INTERVIEW BETWEEN PIZARRO AND ATAHUALLPA — ROUT OF THE PERUVIANS AND CAPTURE OF THE INCA.

Pizarro marches upon Cassamarca, Sept. 24, 1532.

PIZARRO left San Miguel on the 24th of September, 1532, and commenced his march on Cassamarca, conquering or pacifying the Indian tribes that came in his way, and obtaining what information he could (sometimes by means of torture) of the movements and designs of Atahuallpa. When the Spaniards had proceeded about half-way between San Miguel and Cassamarca, messengers from Atahuallpa presented themselves before Pizarro. Their message was friendly. They brought a present for the Spanish Commander, and some provisions for his men. The principal part of the present was a singular drinking-vessel, fashioned of some precious stone, in the form of a double castle.* The messengers said that their master was awaiting Pizarro, at Cassamarca; and they mentioned that Ata-

* "Este mensagero dixo al governador que su Señor Atabalipa le embia desde Caxamalca para le traer aquel presente que eran dos fortalezas á manera de fuente figuradas en piedra con que beva."—F. DE XEREZ. BARCIA, *Historiadores*, tom. 3, p. 189.

B. XVI. Ch. 4.

huallpa's generals had been victorious. Pizarro replied with courtesy, and even made an offer of his services to subdue Atahuallpa's enemies. Journeying on for two days, and resting each night in buildings that were fortified and surrounded with walls of dried mud, Pizarro arrived at a river, which he forded. It was here that the Spaniards first learnt the way in which the Peruvians were numbered by tens and multiples of ten;* and that five tens of thousands was the number of which Atahuallpa's army consisted.

Pizarro's march upon Cassamarca.

Proceeding onwards, Pizarro then came to the territory of a Curaca named Cinto. Thence he despatched the Curaca of San Miguel as his envoy, to ascertain what were Atahuallpa's intentions, and whether any troops occupied the mountains between this point and Cassamarca. Pizarro was now upon one of the great roads between Cusco and Quito, and therefore, each night he was enabled to rest in some one of the fortified places at which the Incas themselves had been accustomed to stop. But, in the course of the next three days, Pizarro diverged from the main road, leaving it to the right, and prepared to ascend the mountain road, which led direct to Cassamarca. Atahuallpa seems to have been no great general, or to have had the fullest confidence in his own superiority of numbers and the pacific intentions of the

* "Informóse de su manera de contar, i supo que cuentan de uno, hasta diez, i de diez hasta ciento, i de diez cientos hacen mil, i cinco dieces de millares era la Gente que Atabaliba tenia." —F. DE XEREZ. BARCIA, *Historiadores*, tom. 3, p. 190.

Spanish Commander, for he left unguarded this mountain pass which a few men might have maintained against an army, the only road being so precipitous, that, as Pizarro's secretary mentions, it was like the steps of a staircase. Arrived at the top of this mountain, Pizarro again encountered messengers from Atahuallpa. Previously, however, to seeing them, the Spanish Commander had received information from his own envoy, that the ways were clear. This news was confirmed by the message from Atahuallpa, which was merely a request to know on what day Pizarro would arrive, in order that the Inca might make arrangements for supplying the Spaniards, in the course of their march, with food at the stations where they were to halt.

Atahuallpa leaves the way clear for Pizarro's army.

The new envoys from Atahuallpa recounted the story of the war between the brothers. They said that Huayna Capac had left the principality of Quito to their master; that Guascar Inca had been the first to make war upon his brother; and they confirmed the important news of Guascar's capture. Pizarro expressed his satisfaction at Atahuallpa's success; and, in a commonplace way, moralized upon the fate of ambitious men. "It happens to them," he said, "as it has happened to Cusco (he meant Guascar Inca): not only do they not attain what they wickedly aim at, but they also lose their own goods and their own persons."*

Atahuallpa's messengers: their story.

* "Á los subervios les acaesce como al Cusco, que no solamente no alcançan lo que malamente desean, pero aun ellos quedan perdidos en bienes, í Personas." —F. DE XEREZ. BARCIA, *Historiadores*, tom. 3, p. 193.

B. XVI. Ch. 4.

The Spanish Commander added this formidable intimation from himself. He knew, he said, that Atahuallpa was a puissant monarch, and a great warrior; but his own master, the King of Spain, was sovereign of the entire world, and had a number of servants who were greater princes than Atahuallpa. His King's generals, indeed, had conquered kings more powerful than either Atahuallpa or Cusco, or their former sovereign and father. Pizarro then proceeded to account for his own presence there, saying that the Emperor had sent him into that country to bring its inhabitants to the knowledge of God; and that, with the few Christians who accompanied him, he had already vanquished greater kings than Atahuallpa. The Spanish Commander concluded by putting before the messengers an alternative. "If," he said, "Atahuallpa wishes to be my friend, and to receive me as such, in the way that other princes have done, I will be his friend. I will aid him in his conquest, and he shall remain on his throne (*i se quedará en su Estado*), for I am going to traverse this country until I reach the other sea. If, on the other hand, he wishes for war, I will wage it against him, as I have against the Curaca of Santiago (this was the name the Spaniards gave to the island of Puña), the Curaca of Tumbez, and all those who have chosen to make war upon me; but I shall not make war with any one or do harm to any one who does not bring it upon himself." This speech, which perhaps may have been a little dressed up for the eyes of Charles the Fifth and his Court, was still,

Pizarro's threatening message to Atahuallpa.

I dare say, substantially, what Pizarro uttered, as his policy certainly was to create terror. The Indian messengers listened in silence: afterwards they desired to report these things to their master; and Pizarro gave them leave to depart.

The next day Pizarro resumed his march, and in the evening the envoy whom Atahuallpa had first sent,—a man of importance, the same who had brought the present of the castellated vase,—presented himself in the Spanish camp. He, too, brought flattering assurances from Atahuallpa, declaring that that Prince would treat Pizarro as a friend and brother. This Peruvian Chief said that he would accompany Pizarro to Cassamarca.

Pizarro resumed his march, and the day after, Pizarro's own Indian messenger, the Curaca of the Province of San Miguel, returned to the camp. No sooner did this Indian set eyes upon Atahuallpa's envoy, than he fell furiously upon him, and, if they had not been separated, would have done him serious injury. Being asked the cause of his rage, he said that this envoy was a great rascal, a spy of Atahuallpa's, who came there to tell lies and to pass himself off for a chief; that Atahuallpa had a numerous army with him, well-armed and well-provisioned; that he was preparing for war in the plain of Cassamarca, and that the town of Cassamarca was abandoned. The San Miguelite Indian's dignity had been deeply injured. They would

Dispute between the envoys of Pizarro and Atahuallpa.

B. XVI. Ch. 4.

not, he said, allow him to see Atahuallpa; they would not furnish him provisions, unless he gave something for them in exchange; indeed, he declared, they would have killed him, if he had not threatened that Pizarro would do the like with Atahuallpa's messengers. One, however, of Atahuallpa's uncles he had seen, and to him he had given an account of the bravery of the Spaniards, of their armour, their horses, their swords, their guns, and their cannon.

Atahuallpa's messenger justifies his master.

To these furious words Atahuallpa's envoy replied, that, if the town of Cassamarca was deserted, it was in order that the houses might be left vacant as quarters for the Spaniards; and that Atahuallpa was in the field, because such had been his custom since the commencement of the war. "If," he said, "they prevented you from speaking to Atahuallpa, it is because he is keeping a fast,* and, while he fasts, he lives in retreat. His people dare not then speak to him, and nobody ventured to let him know that you were there. If he had known of your arrival, he would have received you, and would have given you to eat." In addition to these assurances, Atahuallpa's envoy was ready with a great many arguments to prove his master's good intentions,—so many, indeed, that Pizarro's secretary, himself a man delighting in brevity of speech, observes that, if all the discourse between

* It is a curious fact that several of the Princes of Cassamarca, whom the Incas dispossessed, are said to have fasted to such a degree, upon first coming to the throne, as to have seriously injured their health. The shortness of their reigns is thus accounted for.—See BALBOA, p. 95. TERNAUX-COMPANS, vol. 4.

Pizarro and the envoy had been written down, it would make a book. The result was, that Pizarro pretended to be satisfied, and reproved his own envoy for his violence; but, in reality, the Spanish Commander continued to entertain the gravest suspicions of Atahuallpa's good faith.

The following day, Pizarro recommenced his march, and passed the night on a savannah, where, according to promise, Atahuallpa's messengers brought provisions to the camp. On the next day, Pizarro having divided his army into three corps, proceeded towards the town of Cassamarca, with the intention of taking up his quarters there that night. As he approached the town, he could see Atahuallpa's camp, which lay upon the skirt of a mountain, at the distance of one league.

Pizarro enters Cassamarca. 1532.

It was on a Friday, the 15th of November, 1532, at the hour of vespers, that Pizarro entered Cassamarca. Close to the entrance there was a large square, surrounded by walls and houses. I conjecture this to have been originally a *tambo* (*i.e.* a resting place for the Inca in his journeys), for such must often have been the nucleus for a town. The first thought of Pizarro was to despatch a messenger to Atahuallpa, to let the Inca know of his arrival, and to ask him to come and assign quarters to the Spaniards. Pizarro's next thought was to examine the town, in order to see whether there was any stronger position for his troops to occupy than the great square. Meanwhile, he ordered that all his men should remain where they were, and that the horsemen

B. XVI. Ch. 4. should not dismount until they knew whether Atahuallpa was coming.

Description of Cassamarca.

The description of Cassamarca is very interesting, and the more so, from its not having been a town of the first magnitude. Indeed, Pizarro's secretary says that it contained only two thousand inhabitants; but most people are very bad judges of what space the inhabitants of another country would occupy. Cassamarca was built at the foot of a sierra, upon a flat space extending for a league. Two rivers traversed the adjacent valley; and the town was approached by two bridges, under which these rivers ran. The great square, larger than any at that time in Spain, was connected with the streets by two gates. In front of this square, and incorporated with it, in the direction of the plain, was a fortress, built of stone. Stone stairs led up from the square to the fortress. On the other side of this fortress, there was a secret staircase and a sally-port, connecting the fortress with the open country.

Above the town, on the hill-side, "where the houses begin," there was another fortress, constructed on a rock, the greater part of it scarped. This hill-fortress, which was larger than the other, had a triple enclosure, of more extent than the great square; and the ascent to it was by a winding staircase. There was still another enclosed space between the hill-fortress and the heights of the sierra, which was surrounded by buildings where the women-servants attached to the palace had their residence.

Outside the town, there was a building surrounded by a court open to the air, but enclosed by mud walls, and planted with trees. This was the Temple of the Sun. There were also many other temples within the town. The houses, which formed, as I imagine, two sides of the great square, were very large. The frontage of some of them occupied no less than two hundred yards, and they were surrounded by walls about eighteen feet high. The walls were of good and solid masonry. The roofs of the buildings were formed of straw and wood. The interior of these houses was divided into several blocks of building, each of these blocks consisting of a suite of eight apartments, and having a separate entrance to it. In the court-yards were reservoirs of water, brought from some distance in tubes. The town was commanded by the fortress on the hill, and compressed, as it were, between that fortress and the great square, where the government buildings probably were. This square, again, with its smaller fortress, commanded the open country. Cassamarca was, therefore, a very strong and well-arranged place, for the warfare of that day. It was a remark made by the first conquerors of Peru, that the inhabitants of the higher country were always much more civilized than the natives of the plains, so that Cassamarca was probably a favourable specimen of a Peruvian town.*

* It is much to be regretted that the conquerors were not good draughtsmen: how many words it takes to give a most

B. XVI. Ch. 4.

Pizarro, having surveyed the town, and being convinced that there was no better position for his troops than the great square, returned to them there. Then, seeing that it was growing late, he despatched Fernando de Soto with twenty horsemen to Atahuallpa's camp, to urge that Prince to hasten his visit. Fernando de Soto was to avoid any conflict with the Indians, but was to make an effort to penetrate to the Inca's presence, and to return with some answer. Meanwhile, Pizarro mounted the fortress, to reconnoitre what could be seen of the Indian encampment. While there, his brother Fernando, having just heard of the embassage to the camp, came to Pizarro and suggested to him, that as they had only seventy horsemen, it was hardly prudent to send so many as he had done with Fernando de Soto. This was true; for twenty were not enough to defend themselves, and too many for the Spanish Commander to run any risk of losing. Pizarro listened to his brother's advice, and ordered him to go with another twenty upon the same errand, in order to support the others.

Pizarro sends an embassage to Atahuallpa's camp.

When Fernando Pizarro reached the Indian camp, he found that De Soto had already ob-

inadequate description of what a few strokes of the pencil might easily and accurately have conveyed.'

It is curious to notice how soon familiarity with a new country takes away the power of describing it. We may look in vain for a better account of any Peruvian town than this given by XEREZ; and the first description of Mexican houses given by the conquerors, in the letter of the town-council of Vera Cruz to the Emperor Charles the Fifth (referred to in vol. 2, p. 490), has a freshness and distinctness in it scarcely to be found in any subsequent notices of the buildings in New Spain.

B. XVI. Ch. 4.

De Soto's audience of Atahuallpa.

tained an audience. Atahuallpa was at the entrance of his tent, sitting on a small seat, surrounded by a number of his chiefs and women, who stood in his presence. He had on his head the remarkable head-dress* appropriated to the Incas—"a tassel of wool, which looked like silk, of a deep crimson colour, two hands in breadth, set on the head with descending fringes which brought it down to the eyes."† This head-dress,

* Many authors have endeavoured to describe the remarkable head-dress of the Incas, but, of all the descriptions that have been given, that of OVIEDO'S seems to be the most precise. He says that, in place of a crown, the Inca wore a red tassel, of a colour as brilliant as the most beautiful crimson, made of wool as fine as the choicest silk. "This tassel (*borla*)," he adds, "is as broad as a hand, or more, and a span long, and at the top it is gathered up in the shape of the flat brush which is used for scrubbing cloth; and below is a broad fringe, which hangs from the head to the eyes, upon the forehead, and this drags it (the *borla*) down, and keeps it in its place, and so it (the fringe) covers the eye-brows and part of the upper eye-lids, in such a way, that in order that the Inca may be able to see at his pleasure, he has to raise the fringe (lit. the beard), or to put aside the tassel.—"*Y esta borla es tan ancha ó mas que una mano, é luenga como un xeme, é arriba resumida como talle de escobilla de limpiar ropa, é lo de abaxo ancho aquel flueco que pende de la cabeça hasta los ojos ençima de la frente, é la trae contínuamente puesta, é assí cubre las cejas é parte de los párpados altos; de forma que para poder ver el Ynga á su plaçer, ha de alçar la barba ó apartar la borla.*"

Las Casas makes the *borla* descend lower still:—"Le colgava sobre la frente hasta casi la nariz, la qual hechava él á un lado quando queria ver."—LAS CASAS, *Hist. Apologética*, MS., cap. 253.

It is worthy of notice, that there is some resemblance between the *borla* of the Incas and the common head-dress of the valiant Araucans, a circumstance which may indicate the origin of the Peruvian Incas.

"Los Araucanos no usan turbantes ni sombreros, pero llevan en la cabeza una faxa de lana bordada, á manera del diadema que usaban los antiguos Soberanos. Esta se la levantan ó alzan un poco, en señal de cortesía, al tiempo de saludar, y quando van á la guerra la adornan de varias vistosas plumas."—MOLINA, *Compendio de la Historia Civil del Reyno de Chile*, lib. 2, cap. 1.

† "Tenia en la frente una

B. XVI. Ch. 4.

as Xerez remarks, made the Inca look more grave than he really was. He kept his eyes fixed on the ground, without moving them. Fernando de Soto, by means of an interpreter, conveyed Pizarro's message. The Inca made no reply. He did not even lift up his head to look at the Spaniard; but one of the principal men of the Court spoke for him. Fortunately for the sake of history, Fernando Pizarro arrived at this moment; and Atahuallpa, being informed that this was the Spanish Commander's brother, and receiving the same message from him, deigned to lift up his eyes and to make some reply himself. He said, that Mayçabilica, a Curaca of his, on the banks of the River Turicara (this was near the town of San Miguel), had informed him how the Spaniards had maltreated his Curacas, and had put them in chains. Mayçabilica, he added, had sent him an iron collar. The same chieftain had, moreover, told him that the Spaniards were no great warriors, and that he had killed three of them and a horse. Notwithstanding, however, the injuries complained of, he, Atahuallpa, would go with pleasure to-morrow morning to see the Spanish Commander, and would be a friend to the Spaniards.

Fernando Pizarro's interview with the Inca.

Fernando Pizarro replied with all the haughtiness that was to be expected from a Spaniard on being told that his countrymen were not warriors. "I told him," he says, "that that people of San

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Borla de Lana, que parecia Seda, de color de Carmesí, de anchor de dos manos, asida de la cabeça con sus Cordones; que le bajaban hasta los ojos."—F. DE XEREZ. BARCIA, *Historiadores*, tom. 3, p. 196.

Miguel were as women (hens, there is a report, was the word that Fernando used),* that one horse was sufficient to subdue the whole country, and that when he should see us fight, he would learn what sort of people we were,—that the Governor had much regard for him, and that, if he had any enemy whom he would point out to the Governor, he would send to conquer that enemy. To this the Inca replied, that four days' journey from this place there were some very stubborn Indians whom he could make no way with, and that the Christians might go there to help his people. "I told him," such are the words of Fernando, "that the Governor would send ten horsemen, who would suffice for the whole country,—that his Indians were only necessary to hunt out the fugitives. Upon this, Atahuallpa smiled as a man who did not so much esteem us."

As the sun had now gone down, Fernando Pizarro expressed some impatience for an answer to be given to the Governor's message. The Monarch replied as before, that Fernando should inform his brother that Atahuallpa would come next day, in the morning, to see him, and that Pizarro should lodge his men in three large halls (*tres salones grandes*), which there were in the great square of Cassamarca, the middle one being reserved for the General himself.

Meanwhile, as it had begun to rain and to

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* "Siendo todos ellos unas gallinas."—F. DE XEREZ. BARCIA, *Historiadores*, tom. 3, p. 196.

B. XVI. Ch. 4.

hail, Pizarro had already appointed quarters for his men in the apartments of the palace, but had placed the captain of artillery and his two guns in the fortress. Previously to this, a messenger had come from Atahuallpa, bearing an answer in reply to Pizarro's first message, to the effect that the Spanish Commander might have his quarters where he pleased, except in the fortress.

Pizarro places his men in their quarters.

Fernando Pizarro returned to his brother that evening; and gave an account of his embassy. All that night the Spaniards kept good watch, and early on the next morning (Saturday) messengers came from the Inca, to say that he would come in the evening. Among these messengers was that envoy of Atahuallpa's, who had before had so much conversation with Pizarro; and he told him that his Lord said, that, since the Spaniards had come armed to his camp, he should choose to come with arms too. Pizarro replied that Atahuallpa might come as he pleased.

Atahuallpa breaks up his camp.

On the return of these messengers, about mid-day, Atahuallpa broke up his camp, and moved to within half a quarter of a league of Cassamarca. He then sent another message to Pizarro, saying that he would come without arms, but with a number of people who would form his suite, as he was going to take up his quarters in the town; and he indicated where those quarters would be, namely, "in the House of the Serpent," so called because in the interior of the house there was an image of a serpent, in stone. Either on this occasion, or on that of the former embassage, Atahuallpa had made a request that one of the

Spaniards should be sent to accompany him. According to Xerez this was refused; according to Fernando Pizarro, it was acceded to.

Pizarro prepares to receive Atahuallpa.

Pizarro now made his final preparations to receive Atahuallpa. He kept the cavalry in the quarters that had been appointed for them,—the horses being saddled and bridled, and the soldiers ready to mount at a moment's notice. The infantry he posted in those streets which, as before described, led into the great square. The artillery was in the fortress; and Pizarro ordered the captain of the artillery to bring his pieces to bear upon the Peruvian army, now in their tents under the town. Pizarro himself remained in his own lodgings. He kept twenty men with him, who were to help him to seize upon Atahuallpa, "if the Inca came with treacherous intent, as it appeared he was coming with such a large* body of men." Fernando Pizarro makes a similar remark with regard to the cavalry, for he says, "they were to be ready until it was seen what were Atahuallpa's intentions."

Evening, always the best friend of the Indians in their encounters with the Spaniards, was now coming on. In the great square of Cassamarca a single sentinel paced up and down; and, as he could see what was going on in the enemy's camp, gave notice from time to time of their movements. Pizarro visited his posts, and addressed

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* "Si cautelosamente viniese, como parecia que venia con tanto número de Gente, como con él venia."—F. DE XEREZ. BARCIA, *Historiadores*, tom. 3, p. 197.

B. XVI. Ch. 4.

encouraging words to his men. They would rather have fought in the open fields, if fighting there was to be; and it was well to prevent this feeling from growing into anything like discouragement. Pizarro told his soldiers to make fortresses of their hearts, since there were no others for them, nor other succour but that of God, who protects in the greatest dangers those who are engaged in his service. "Although there may be five hundred Indians to one Christian," said Pizarro, "show that courage which brave men are wont to display on such occasions, and expect that God will fight for you. At the moment of attack, throw yourselves upon the enemy with force and swiftness; and let the cavalry charge in such a manner that the horses do not jostle against each other."

Pizarro's speech to his soldiers.

That the evening was coming on was a circumstance which Pizarro did not like at all. Accordingly, he sent a messenger to hasten the Inca's arrival, on the pretext that he was waiting for him to sit down to supper, and that he could not do so until the Inca should arrive. Atahuallpa, on receiving this message, prepared to enter the town. He came accompanied by five or six thousand men—"unarmed men," Fernando Pizarro says,—that is, without their lances; but beneath their cotton doublets they carried small clubs, slings, and bags of stones.*

* "Llevó consigo hasta cinco ó seis mil indios sin armas, salvo que debajo de las camisetas traian unas porras pequeñas, é hondas, é bolsas con piedras."—Ferdinand's letter to the Audiencia of San Domingo. See Appendix to QUINTANA'S *Life of Pizarro.*

While the Peruvians were moving into the town—and the movement of an Inca was a slow and pompous affair,—what were the thoughts of the leaders on both sides, and what had been their intentions throughout? Probably we shall not err much in concluding that neither Pizarro nor Atahuallpa had made up their minds definitively as to what course they should take; and that a very slight circumstance might have changed the proceedings of this memorable evening. How often must the audacious capture of Montezuma by Cortes have been talked over at their watch-fires by Spanish captains and Spanish soldiers! It is, therefore, not surprizing that Pizarro should have made preparations for enacting a similar feat, if it should seem necessary. He had told his band of foot-soldiers that they were to endeavour to seize the Inca alive; but at the same time he had ordered that his men should not quit their posts, even if they should see the enemy enter into the great square, until they had heard the discharge of artillery. Fernando Pizarro mentions that some of the messengers who had come in the course of the day had told the Indian women attached to the Spaniards that they had better fly, as the Inca was coming in the evening to destroy the Christians. This story may be doubted; but the numbers that accompanied Atahuallpa, and the general movement of the camp to a spot much nearer the town, were evident facts of a threatening character. Still, I imagine that Pizarro was really anxious to penetrate the Inca's intentions,

B. XVI. Ch. 4.

and, if he had been quite sure of their being pacific, would have been contented to wait the course of events.

Designs of Atahuallpa.

As for Atahuallpa's designs, they were, I conceive, still less definitively formed. He may well have imagined that this small band of men might aid him greatly in completing and securing his conquests, while their numbers would be too few to be dangerous to his dominion. Still, he may have had a very wise apprehension of what even a few men, aided by these strange animals (horses and dogs), and with these wonderful weapons of which he had heard something, might be able to effect. Pizarro's secretary thinks that the clubs and the slings were proofs of hostile intention. The braver Fernando Pizarro considered that they were no arms. The Inca himself probably thought that in the arming of his retinue he had chosen the happy medium: his attendants were not defenceless, but they did not come as the men of war whom he had left in the plain below. As for the number that accompanied him, he was, doubtless, accustomed to be surrounded by large numbers, and might have thought that his numerous and grand retinue would impress upon the minds of these strangers a just sense of the power and dignity of the Monarch of Peru.

Atahuallpa comes to meet Pizarro in Cassamarca.

Whatever were the thoughts or the intentions of either party, the time had now arrived for expressing them in action. Atahuallpa's retinue passed over the bridges, and began to ascend into the great square. The mode of their procession seems to show that the Indians had no expectation

of an immediate attack, or they would hardly have suffered their Prince to come so prominently forward. There was, however, an advance-guard, not, as it would appear, in great force, and not better armed than with the clubs and slings before mentioned. These entered the great square first. As the advance-guard began to enter, a troop of three hundred Indians, clothed in a sort of chequered livery, made clean the way before the litter of Atahuallpa. After them came three corps of dancers and singers, then a number of Peruvians in golden armour, wearing crowns of gold and silver, in the midst of whom was borne along the Inca himself, in a litter adorned with parroquets' plumes of all colours, and plated with silver and gold. A number of chiefs carried this litter on their shoulders. There were two other litters, and two hammocks, which no doubt contained persons of the highest rank and dignity. After these came several columns of men, about whose arms or armour nothing is said; but it is mentioned that they also wore crowns of gold and silver. As each body of men advanced, they deployed to the right or the left; and Atahuallpa's litter was borne on towards the centre of the great square. He then ordered a halt to be made, and that his litter and the others should be continued to be held up.

Entrance of the Inca into Cassamarca.

An incident happened now which is worth noting, as it shows how differently the same thing may affect different people, according to the mode in which they may be disposed to look at it. Pizarro's secretary says, "The Indians kept

Signs interpreted according to the humour of the interpreters.

B XVI. Ch. 4.

entering the square: an Indian chief of the advance guard then mounted the fortress where the artillery was, and raised a lance twice, as if to give a signal." Fernando Pizarro, at the same period of the narrative, says, "Twelve or fifteen Indians mounted a little fortress which is there, and took possession of it, as it were, with a flag attached to a lance."* This slight action admits, as every one must see, of being rendered in two very different ways: either it was a traitorous signal to the army below, or a point of ceremony. I hold, with Fernando Pizarro, to the latter rendering.

The priest Valverde advances towards the Inca.

At this point of time, Pizarro asked Vicente de Valverde, the priest of the expedition, whether he would go and speak to Atahuallpa with an interpreter. Father Vicente consented, and advanced towards the Inca, bearing a cross in one hand, and holding a breviary in the other. As the priest approached, Atahuallpa naturally inquired of those Indians who had already seen something of the Spaniards, having journeyed with them, and provided for the necessities of the army, of what condition and quality this man was. One of them replied that this was "the captain and guide of talk;" he meant to say, preacher—"the minister of the supreme God, Pachacamác, and his messenger:" the rest, he said, "are not as he is."

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* "Entrando en la plaza subieron doce ó quince indios en una fortalecilla que allí está é tomáronla á manera de posesion con bandera puesta en una lanza."—Fernando's Letter. See Appendix to QUINTANA.

Meanwhile, Father Vicente had advanced close to the litter of Atahuallpa, and having made his obeisance, addressed the Inca in a discourse, of which the following seems to be an accurate account.

The discourse of Father Vicente was divided into two parts, and consisted of a brief summary of the whole theology of that time.*

He thus began:—"Most famous and most powerful King, it is desirable for you to know that it is necessary that your Highness and all your vassals should be taught, not only the true Catholic Faith, but also that you should listen to and believe the following things.

"First, that God, three and one, created heaven and earth, and all things in the world; amongst them man, a creature who consists of body and rational soul.

Father Vicente's sacred history.

"From this first man, all men have descended. He sinned, and all other men have sinned in him. No man, nor any woman, is free from this stain, except our Lord Jesus Christ." In very few words, Father Vicente then gave the history of Jesus Christ, finishing by saying how He perished

* "El P. Blas Valera, diligentísimo Escudriñador de los Hechos de aquellos Tiempos, como Hombre, que pretendia escrivirlos, dice largamente la Oracion, ó Plática, que el P. Frai Vicente de Valverde hiço al Rei Atahuallpa, dividida en dos partes: Dice, que la vió en Trugillo, estudiando Latinidad, escrita de mano del mismo Frai Vicente, que la tenia uno de aquellos Conquistadores, que se decia Diego de Olivares; y que muerto él, vino á poder de un Yerno suio, y que la leió muchas veces, y la tomó de memoria."—GARCILASO DE LA VEGA, *Hist. de Perou*, parte 2, lib. 1, cap. 22.

B. XVI. Ch. 4.

on a cross like unto that which he, the father, bore in his hands.

Jesus Christ rose from the dead and ascended into heaven, leaving upon earth his apostles and their successors, in order to bring men to a knowledge of Him and of His law.

Moreover, He willed that St. Peter, one of the apostles, should be the prince of the apostles; also, of their successors, and of all other Christians, and that he should be the Vicar of God; and, after him, that all the Roman "Pontiffs," successors of St. Peter, whom the Christians called "Popes," should have the same supreme authority. Father Vicente concluded this part of his discourse by saying, "that all these Popes, then, now, and always, have taken, and continue to take, much pains in preaching and teaching to men the word of God." So ended the spiritual part of the discourse. It will remind the reader of the celebrated *Requerimiento;* but it is much more closely arranged, and better expressed.*

Father Vicente's sacred history.

Father Vicente then proceeded to the temporal part of his oration.

The Pope, he said, who now lives upon earth, (Father Vicente's history here halts a little, confounding Alexander the Sixth with Clement the Seventh, but, probably, he thought it the best

* So well expressed is it, that it may have been drawn up, and its diction settled, in Spain. Its wonderful pedantry is no proof that many good and clever men were not concerned in the composition of it, for pedantry is nearly the least introspective of all human failings.

Father Vicente's profane history.

way of explaining the matter to a barbarous monarch), understanding that all these nations (the Indians) had quitted the service of the true God, and adored idols and likenesses of the Devil, and, wishing to bring them to the true knowledge of God, granted the conquest of these parts to Charles the Fifth, Emperor of the Romans, most powerful King of Spain, and Monarch of the whole earth (here, again, the history would not have borne European criticism), in order that having conquered these nations, and cast out the rebels and obstinate persons from amongst them, he should govern these nations, bringing them to the knowledge of God and to the obedience of the Church. "Our most powerful King," the good Father went on to say, "although he was very much occupied in the government of his own kingdom, did not refuse this charge, and had accordingly sent his captains, who had subdued and brought to the true religion the great Islands and the country of Mexico.

"With these motives, the powerful Emperor, Charles the Fifth, has chosen for his lieutenant and ambassador, Don Francisco Pizarro (who is here), that these kingdoms of Your Highness may receive the same benefits which those other lands have received (*at this moment there was scarcely an Indian left alive in Hispaniola*), and that an alliance of perpetual friendship should be made between His Majesty and Your Highness." Father Vicente then explained what this alliance meant. It was, that Atahuallpa should pay tribute, renounce the administration of his kingdom,

B. XVI. Ch. 4.

obey the Pope, believe in Jesus Christ, and give up idolatry. The priest concluded the temporal part of his oration with stern threats of fire and sword,* in case the Inca should not consent to this arrangement. "If, with an obstinate mind, you endeavour to resist," said Father Vicente, "you may take it for very certain that God will permit, that, as anciently Pharaoh and all his army perished in the Red Sea, so you and all your Indians will be destroyed by our arms."

That last sentence is a triumph of pedantry, furnishing an historical example which it was impossible for the Inca to know anything about, and prophesying in a manner that must have been unintelligible to him. The fulfilment of the prophecy, however, was near at hand; and Father Vicente can hardly be acquitted of having had some share in accelerating it.

It must not be imagined that the strange oration given above is otherwise than a faithful rendering of what was uttered on this memorable occasion, or that such a discourse would have been exceedingly repugnant to the common sense of Pizarro and of the other lay Spaniards, if they had been near enough to hear Father Valverde deliver it. It is difficult for us in modern times, especially for those of us who are Protestants, to bring home to our minds the real faith in their mission which these

* "Si lo negares, sábete, que serás apremiado con Guerra, á fuego y á sangre."—Garcilaso de la Vega, *Hist. de Perú*, parte 2, lib. 1, cap. 22.

Spanish Conquerors possessed. We are apt to look at all they say in this matter as if it were dictated by policy alone. But it would be nearer the truth to admit that their religious professions were often very sincere; and certainly statements are not the less believed in because the belief happens to coincide with the interest of the believer. The Pope had indeed given to the sovereigns of Castille this charge that Father Vicente spoke of. The Conquerors did feel that they were missionaries and ambassadors, clothed with undoubted authority derived from the Pope and the Emperor; and it is always to be remembered that the audacity of their words in a strange land was not greater than the audacity of their being there at all. It gave some colour of reason to the fact of these one hundred and sixty-two Spaniards advancing to subdue ten or eleven millions of people (such were then the numbers of the Peruvian empire*), that they had been sent by the great personages they spoke of, and that they should introduce the creation of the world, the destinies of man, and the commands of God to stamp their enterprize with due authority.

Belief of the conquerors in their mission.

Population of Peru.

There is one feature of this remarkable scene,

* "Este vasto imperio contenia tan solo diez ú once millones de habitantes, número que disminuyó rápidamente despues de la conquista, y en el año de 1580, el censo general hecho en virtud de órden de Felipe II. por el arzobispo Loaiza, no demostró mas de 8,280,000 almas. El computo del Padre Cisneros en 1579 asciende á 1,500,000 habitantes, mas solo de individuos tributarios; y Humboldt se equivocó al tomar este número por el de la totalidad de los habitantes del Perú."—*Antigüedades Peruanas*, c. 3, p. 65.

B. XVI. Ch. 4.

which, at the risk even of our lingering too much upon it, must not go without comment: and that is, the interpretation of the priest's words. The interpreter was Felipillo, a native of the island of Puña, or of the adjacent country. Now, there is no part of the world, where more languages, presenting more apparent variety, existed than in America. One or two common laws are, it is said, to be traced throughout the American languages; but there is the greatest dissimilarity of words. There are also several of the subtlest refinements* in language to be found in some of these American tongues; and such refinements would be likely to be fully appreciated at the

American languages: their variety and dissimilarity.

* Among these refinements may be mentioned the following three:—

1. That which Dr. Tschudi has called "la conjugacion del objeto personal," by which the verb is conjugated in reference to the personal pronoun which it governs:—for instance, in the expressions, *I told you* and *I told him*, the first "told" would differ from the second in most of the American languages.

2. A plural inclusive and a plural exclusive. The first is used when the person speaking includes himself in the thought or action described; the second, when the person speaking is excluded from the action. The refinement of this may easily be seen by applying it to any explanation made by a member of a modern Cabinet. If he said "we resolved," with the first plural, it would mean "I was of the same opinion with my colleagues in taking that resolution." If he said, "We resolved" with the second plural, it would mean, "the resolution was taken by the Cabinet, but I was not of the opinion of the majority." The want of such a delicate mode of expression is a loss in parliamentary language.

3. Some of the American languages had important variations, according to the sex of the person speaking. For instance, in the Quichuan language, if a brother spoke of a sister, he used the word *panay*: if a sister spoke of the same sister, she used another word (*ñañay*) to express the same relation; and, what is still more remarkable, the interjections (for instance, those expressing grief) were different according to the sex of the persons using them.—See *Antig. Peruanas*, pp. 93, 94, 95.

Imperial court of Cusco. Felipillo understood little of the language spoken at Cusco, and less of Spanish.* The Spaniards might already have conjectured this, if they had observed, when Atahuallpa's principal envoy met them on the road and delivered a long oration, with its pauses and its parentheses† (for savages and semi-civilized people delight in elaborate oration as well as their betters), into what bald language Felipillo translated it. His Spanish was at best that of the common soldiers, flavoured largely with soldiers' oaths (*voto á tal, juro á tal*) and other such expressions; and it was well compared by an historian of those times to the language of an imported negro. His Cuscan, if he attempted it, must have been almost equally deplorable. In brief, the effect of Father Vicente's oration, astounding enough in itself, must, when it was rendered by this poor interpreter, have been something like the effect which an oration on the deepest mysteries, uttered in the dialect of Cumberland, by an ignorant man, would produce upon the nice ear of some polite and learned graduate of Oxford or of Cambridge.

Felipillo a poor interpreter.

Atahuallpa, according to Garcilaso de la Vega, had no sooner heard the priest's discourse than he gave a groan, and uttered the word "Atac" (Alas!); but, stifling his passion, he commenced an oration, in which, after complaining in a dignified

* "Que sabia poco del Lenguage del Cozco, y menos del Español."—Garcilaso de la Vega, *Com. Real.*, parte 2, lib. 1, cap. 17.

† "Larga oracion, haciendo sus pausas y cláusulas."

B. XVI. Ch. 4.

manner of the interpreter, he drew a contrast between the messages of peace and brotherhood which had previously been sent to him and the present menaces of fire and sword. The Spaniards, he said, were either tyrants or messengers from God: in the latter case, he and his people must obey them, but they must show themselves to be beneficent.

Atahuallpa's reply to Valverde.

Then, addressing himself to the spiritual part of Father Vicente's oration, the Inca remarked that there were five illustrious personages spoken of. "The first," he said, "is God, three and one, which are four,* whom you call the Creator of the Universe, peradventure the same as our Pachacamac and Viracocha. The second is the father of all other men, upon whom all the rest have heaped their sins. The third you call Jesus Christ, the only one who did not cast his sins on that first man, but who is dead. The fourth is named Pope. The fifth is Charles, whom you say is most powerful, and the Monarch of the Universe. But if this Charles is lord of the whole world, what need had he for the Pope to give him leave to make war on me, and, as a usurper, to seize upon my dominions?"

The Inca, then, it is said, went into the

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* According to what was recorded by means of the *quippus*, the interpreter Felipillo had himself made this mistake of adding the three and four.—"Lo decia como un Papagaio; y por decir Dios Trino y Uno, dijo, Dios tres y uno son quatro, sumando los números por darse á entender. Consta esto por la tradicion de los Quipus, que son los ñudos Annales de Cassamarca, donde pasó el hecho, y no pudo decirlo de otra manera."—GARCILASO DE LA VEGA, *Comentarios Reales del Perú*, parte 2, lib. 1, cap. 23.

question of tribute, and declared that he did not see why he was obliged to pay tribute to Charles. For, if he had to pay tribute to any one, it would be to God, or to that first man who was the father of all men, or to Jesus Christ who never sinned, or to the Pope who had power, as the Spaniards said, to give away his kingdoms and his person to other people. "But if," he said, "I owe nothing to these others, I owe less to Charles, who never was lord of these countries, nor has seen them." The Inca added other remarks; but, as we cannot rely upon the authenticity of his speech, it is needless to quote more of this report of it than the above, which, whether it were uttered by him or not, is fairly enough imagined as a reply of the kind which the Inca might have given. He is made to conclude by saying, that the Spaniards had more gods than the Peruvians, who only adored Pachacamác as supreme God, and the Sun as his subordinate, and the Moon as the sister of the Sun.

Atahuallpa's reply to Valverde.

There is one thing, however, which the Inca undoubtedly did. He asked for this book which Father Vicente carried in his hand, and to which he had referred as bearing testimony to his wonderful assertions. The book was clasped. Atahuallpa took it in his hands, but could not open it. Father Vicente advanced to do so for him, but the Inca, doubtless considering this a sign of disrespect, struck him on the arm,* and

The Inca throws the Bible from him.

* "Atabalipa con gran desden le dió un golpe en el braço no queriendo que lo abriesse."—F. DE XEREZ, *La Conquista del Perú*, p. 24.

B. XVI. Ch. 4.

then, forcing the book open, turned over some of the leaves; after which he threw it five or six feet from him.

He then said he well knew what the Spaniards had done on their route, how they had maltreated his Curacas, and pillaged houses. Father Vicente offered excuses, saying that the Christians had not done these things, but that some Indians, without Pizarro's knowledge, were the persons in fault; and that the Spanish Commander had ordered restitution. To this the Inca replied, "I will not go hence until you have given me all that you have taken from my land." He rose up in his litter, and spoke to his people, and there was a murmur amongst them, as if they were calling for their armed companions.

Father Vicente returned to the Governor and told him what had passed, that the Inca had thrown the book upon the ground, and that the posture of affairs admitted of no more delay,* by which, I suppose, he meant that negotiation was at an end, and that arms must now decide the question. Then Pizarro put on his cuirass, took his sword and his buckler, and sent to inform his brother. It had been concerted between them, that Fernando was to give the signal to the captain of artillery, and he did so now. The cannon were discharged, the trumpets sounded, the cavalry rushed out of their quarters,

The Spaniards attack the Inca and his guards.

* This is upon Fernando Pizarro's testimony, and the words which he attributed to the priest are, "Que ya no estaba la cosa en tiempo de esperar mas!"—See Fernando's Letter to the Audiencia, in QUINTANA.

and Pizarro himself, followed but by four men, who alone of all the twenty could hold their way with him, rushed straight to the litter of the Inca, whom he seized by the left hand, uttering at the same time the war-cry of Santiago, a name well known now in many a bloody battle-field in the New World. The Inca's litter being still held up aloft, Pizarro could not get at him to drag him out of it, until the Spaniards had killed a sufficient number of the bearers, when it fell, and Pizarro, in the mêlée round the fallen Prince, was slightly wounded in the hand. At last the person of the Inca was secured, but in a woful plight, such as, perhaps, no rebel's dream had ever dared to depict for the person of his god-descended sovereign. The guards and the Curacas did not desert their master, but were slaughtered in heaps around him. The rest of the Peruvians fled like sheep, and by their weight breaking down the wall of the enclosure (which that day, as the saying went hereafter, was kinder to them than the Spaniards), fled into the open country towards their camp. The Indians there, however, made no better stand than their flying comrades, and unresisted slaughter was the order of the day.

The Inca is taken, Nov. 16, 1532.

Pizarro's little wound was the only injury received by any Spaniard, but two thousand dead bodies of Indians remained in the square that night.

The Inca, whose clothes in the struggle had been pulled to pieces, was reclothed, and "consoled" by Pizarro (a strange comforter!), who

B. XVI. Ch. 4.

told him not to be ashamed of being conquered by one who had done great things, and to congratulate himself on having fallen into such merciful hands. "If we have seized upon you and killed your people," said Pizarro, "it is because you came with a numerous army; it is because you have thrown on the ground the book which contains the word of God; so the Lord has permitted that your pride should be humbled, and that no Indian should have been able to wound a Christian."

Pizarro consoles the Inca.

Atahuallpa is said to have made a reply, in which, after the fashion of despots, he laid the blame upon his inferior officers, saying that Mayzabilica had misrepresented the Spaniards' prowess, and that he, the Inca, wished to come peaceably, but that his chiefs would not allow him to do so.

It is not likely, however, that much discourse passed between Pizarro and his captive that evening. As it was now late, Pizarro ordered the recall to be sounded; and soon afterwards the Spaniards returned, having with them no less than three thousand prisoners. Pizarro asked if any Spaniards were wounded, and was informed that one horse only had received a slight injury. Upon this, he gave thanks to God, and after saying that the great action of this day, which he counted as a miracle, was to be attributed to His grace and favour, he ordered the troops to rest in their quarters, bidding them, however, keep a good watch, "for," said he, "although God has given us the victory, we must not cease to be upon our guard."

No Spaniard wounded but Pizarro.

They then went to supper. Pizarro and Atahuallpa sat at the same table. Afterwards the Inca retired to his couch, placed in the chamber of his conqueror, where he remained unbound, being watched over only by the usual guard that attended the Governor. What a contrast to the obsequious multitude that had been wont to throng the precincts of the Inca's dwelling! and with what feelings must the conquered monarch have looked round him at the break of dawn, in the first few moments after waking —that point of time when all great calamities are most keenly apprehended,—and when, if he had slept at all, he discerned that his defeat was not a hideous dream, but that he lay there a captive to these few bearded men who surrounded him, and that the vast apparatus of attendance that he was accustomed to was wanting! Pizarro, however, had not been unmindful of aught that might soothe his captive's sufferings; and, on the preceding evening, had offered to Atahuallpa the services of those female attendants of his who had already been captured: it may be hoped the monarch found amongst them those, or at least the one much-loved, who could console (rare art in man or woman!) without reproaching.

Atahuallpa's feelings on the first morning after his captivity.

Female attendants provided for him.

The position of Atahuallpa was almost unique. It is not merely that he was at the same time a conqueror and a captive. That conjuncture of circumstances had happened several times before in the world's history; but then the conqueror had usually been made captive by some

Unique position of Atahuallpa.

B. XVI. Ch. 4.

detachment, or at least by some ally, of the other side; whereas, Atahuallpa, victorious on his own ground, suddenly found himself a slave to some power, which, so far as its connexion with Peruvian affairs was concerned, might have descended from the clouds. His previous success must have deepened the dismay he felt at his present reverse, and must have added greatly to the height of hope from which he had suddenly and precipitately fallen.

Resignation of the Inca.

Whatever may have been the poignancy of the Inca's feelings, his dignity forbade any expression of it. He spoke with resignation, and even with cheerfulness, of his defeat. He said it was the way of war, to conquer and to be conquered; and, with a wise stoicism, he sought to comfort those chiefs and favourites who were admitted to see him, and whose lamentations, not restrained by regal dignity, were loud and fervid.

The historian may well imitate the reserve of the principal sufferer, and forbear to moralize more than he did upon an unparalleled instance of the mutability of fortune, which was no less rapid than complete—as rapid, indeed, as the skilful shifting of a scene. The battle, if battle it can be called, in which perhaps hardly any weapons were crossed, except by accident, lasted little more than half an hour, for the sun had already set when the action commenced. It was rightly said that the shades of night would prove the best defence for the Indians. The Spaniards remarked that the horses, which the evening before had scarcely

been able to move, on account of the cold which they had suffered in their journey over the mountains, galloped about on this day as if they had nothing the matter with them. All that the fiercest beasts of the forest have done is absolutely inappreciable, when compared with the evil of which that good-natured animal, the horse, has been the efficient instrument, since he was first tamed to the use of man. Atahuallpa afterwards mentioned that he had been told how the horses were unsaddled at night, which was another reason for his entertaining less fear of the Spaniards, and listening more to the mistaken notions of Mayzabilica.

Saddled or not saddled, however, in the wars between the Spaniards and the Indians, the horse did not play a subordinate part; the horse made the essential difference between the armies; and if, in the great square of Madrid, there had been raised some huge emblem in stone to commemorate the Spanish Conquest of the New World, an equine, not an equestrian, figure would appropriately have crowned the work. The arms and the armour might have remained the same on both sides. The ineffectual clubs and darts and lances might still have been arrayed against the sharp Biscayan sword and deadly arquebuss; the cotton doublet of Cusco against the steel corslet of Milan; but, without the horse, the victory would ultimately have been on the side of overpowering numbers. The Spaniards might have hewn into the Peruvian squadrons, making clear lanes of prostrate bodies. Those squadrons would have closed

Importance of the horse in the conquest of the New World.

B. XVI. Ch. 4.

together again, and by mere weight would have compressed to death the little band of heroic Spaniards. In truth, had the horse been created in America, the conquest of the New World would not improbably have been reserved for that peculiar epoch of development in the European mind when, as at present, mechanical power has in some degree superseded the horse, that power being naturally measured by the units contained in it of the animal force which it represents and displaces.

CHAPTER V.

AGREEMENT FOR ATAHUALLPA'S RANSOM — FERNANDO PIZARRO'S JOURNEY TO THE TEMPLE OF PACHACAMAC — MESSENGERS SENT TO CUSCO — ARRIVAL OF ALMAGRO AT THE CAMP OF CASSAMARCA.

EARLY the next morning after the capture of Atahuallpa, the Governor (from henceforth we may well call Pizarro the Governor, and on his furrowed forehead might have been placed the potent diadem of the Incas) sent out thirty horsemen to scour the plain, and to ransack the Inca's camp. At mid-day they returned, bringing with them ornaments and utensils of gold and silver, emeralds, men, women, and provisions. The gold in that excursion produced, when melted, about eighty thousand *pesos*.

The Inca's camp is ransacked.

There was one thing which the Spaniards noticed in this foray, and reported to Pizarro. They found several Indians lying dead in the camp, who had not been killed by Spaniards (they knew their own marks); and, when Pizarro asked for an explanation of this circumstance from the Inca, he replied, that he had ordered these men to be put to death, because they had shrunk back from the Spanish Captain's horse. This Spanish captain was Fernando de Soto,

B. XVI. Ch. 5.

who, in his interview on the preceding day, had indulged in sundry curvettings, to impress upon the Peruvians a just appreciation of the prowess of the horse. Such little traits—and there are several of them in Atahuallpa's (Sweet Valour's) conduct—tend to diminish the sympathy which we might otherwise have had for him. In truth, in this melancholy story, it is difficult to find anybody whom the reader can sympathize much with. Fernando Pizarro is said to have behaved well to the natives, and at this period of the Conquest he always makes a creditable appearance; but, to any one who knows what direful mischiefs he will hereafter give rise to, his name suggests the ideas of discord and confusion.

Pizarro spares the prisoners.

On the present occasion, the Governor showed some consideration and mercy. Many of his men wished him to kill the fighting men among their prisoners, but he would not consent to this. They had come, he said, to conquer these savages, and to instruct them in the Catholic Faith; and it would not be fitting to imitate these cruel people in their cruelties. Those Peruvians, therefore, whom the Spaniards did not choose for slaves were set at liberty.

Pizarro renewed with Atahuallpa the preaching of the previous evening. His discourse was probably more intelligible than that of the priest, Vicente de Valverde, of whom the earliest traveller (not a Spaniard) in those parts slily observes, when describing the interview between the priest and the Inca, that Valverde must have supposed Atahuallpa to have suddenly

come out as some great theologian.* Pizarro, besides explaining matters of faith, instructed the Inca in political affairs, informing him how all the lands of Peru and the "rest (of the New World) belonged to the Emperor, Charles the Fifth, whom Atahuallpa must henceforth recognize as his superior Lord." The dispirited Inca replied that he was content to do so; and, seeing that the Christians collected gold, he said that what they had hitherto got was little, but that for his ransom he would fill the room where they then were, up to a certain white line which he marked upon the wall, and which was about half as high again as a man's height, between eight and nine feet. This ransom was to be paid in about two months.

Pizarro's discourse to Atahuallpa.

Pizarro did not fail to make many inquiries of Atahuallpa about the state of his dominions, and the war between his brother and himself. The Inca told him that his generals were occupying the great town of Cusco, and that Guascar Inca was being brought to him as a prisoner. It was an oversight in Pizarro, and one which Cortes, Vasco Nuñez, or Charles the Fifth would never have committed, that the Spanish Governor did not send at once to secure the person of the deposed Inca.† It must not be supposed, however, that

* "Ratus fortasse Attabalibam repentè in magnum aliquem theologum evasisse." — BENZONI, *Hist. Nov. Orbis*, lib. 3, cap. 3, p. 280.

† If, however, Xerez is accurate, Guascar must have been put to death very soon after Atahuallpa's capture, and Pizarro at once informed of the fact.— "Entre muchos Mensageros, que venian á Atabaliba, le vino uno de los que traian preso á su Hermano, á decille, que quando

B. XVI. Ch. 5.

Pizarro's labours after the victory.

the Spanish Commander remained idle after his capture of Atahuallpa. He founded a church; he raised and strengthened the fortifications of Cassamarca; and he endeavoured to ascertain what were the movements and intentions of the Peruvians. Still, it was not to secure the person of Guascar Inca—and we must therefore conclude

his fate to have been settled before then,—but to make sure of the promised gold (which metal soon was to become so plentiful that the Spaniards

sus Capitanes supieron su prision, havian iá muerto al Cuzco. Sabido esto por el Governador, mostró que le pesaba mucho: i dijo que era mentira, que no le havian muerto, que lo trujesen luego vivo: i si no, que él mandaria matar á Atabaliba. Atabaliba afirmaba, que sus Capitanes lo havian muerto, sin saberlo él. El Governador se informó de los Mensageros, i supo que lo havian muerto."—F. DE XEREZ, *Barcia, Historiadores*, tom. 3, p. 204.

would shoe their horses with it), that the Governor determined to send his brother Fernando, after two months had passed, to collect the remainder of the ransom, and also to observe the Peruvian armies which were said to be approaching Cassamarca. Before this, the Governor had sent to his town of San Miguel, to inform them there of his successes; and on the 20th of December, he received a letter from that town telling him of the arrival, at a port called Concibi, near Coaque, of six vessels containing a hundred and sixty Spaniards and eighty-four horses. The three largest of these vessels, with a hundred and twenty men, were armed and commanded by Pizarro's partner, Diego de Almagro; and the other three were caravels with thirty volunteers from Nicaragua. The Governor wrote to welcome Almagro, and to beg him to come on to Cassamarca.

Almagro arrives in Peru.

Meanwhile, continually, messengers and men of great authority kept arriving to see their master Atahuallpa. Amongst others, came the chief of the town of Pachacamác, and the guardian of the great temple there. The latter was put in chains by Atahuallpa, who, according to the Spaniards, seems to have become quite a recreant from his own religion, for he is made to say that he did this because the guardian of the temple had advised him to make war upon the Christians, and had declared that the idol had said to him that the Inca would kill them all: "I wish to see," the Inca is reported to say, "if he, whom you call your God, will take this chain off you." What is more certain is, that Atahuallpa, who

The Inca's treatment of the guardian of the temple of Pachacamác.

B. XVI. Ch. 5.

was a man of much intelligence, made rapid progress in learning how to play chess and games with dice,—a part of the mission of the Spaniards which was sure to find a ready acceptance from the Indians. There is one remark attributed to the Inca which is very natural. Of all the things which the Spaniards showed him, there was nothing he was so much pleased in looking at as glass; and he said to Pizarro "that he wondered much, that since in Castille they had plenty of such a beautiful material as glass, they should fatigue themselves in traversing foreign lands and seas in search of metals so common as gold and silver.*

Jan. 6, 1533.

It was on the day of the Epiphany, 1533, that Fernando Pizarro set off from Cassamarca with twenty horsemen and some arquebusiers. There is a minute account of his journey written by the King's *Veedór*, Miguel Estete, who accompanied him; and Fernando himself has also given a short account of it. Everywhere they found signs of riches and of civilization. On his route, Fernando obtained leave from the Governor to go to the city of Pachacamác; in reaching which he had to journey along the great roads. For fifteen days he went by the upper road, and the rest of the time, by the road on the sea-coast. "The road of the Sierras," he observes, "is a thing to see, for in truth, in a land so rugged, there have not been seen in

Fernando Pizarro's journey to Pachacamác.

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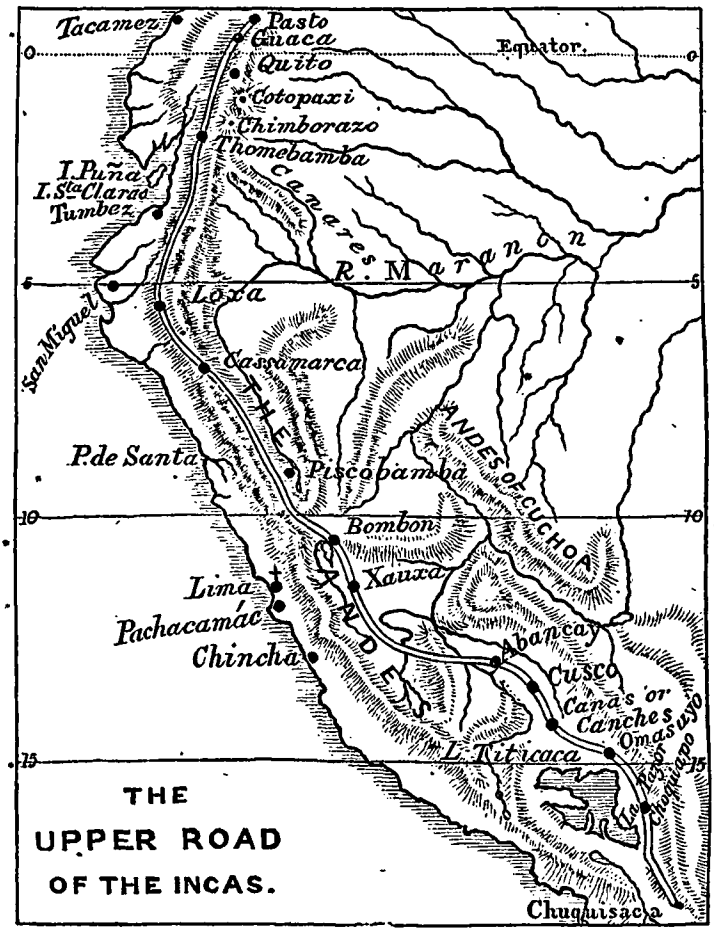
* "Se plurimùm mirari quòd quum in Castella rei tam pulcræ copiam haberent, pervestigandis metallis adeò vilibus auro et argento, peregrinas terras et maria obeundo semetipsos fatigarent."—BENZONI, lib. 3, cap. 5, p. 291.

Christendom such beautiful ways, the greater part being causeway." He speaks of the bridges, some of which on a certain great river were made of rope; and at each passage of the river there were two bridges, one for the common



people and the other for the Inca and the chiefs. Moreover, it appeared that the Peruvians had arrived at that point of civilization denoted by the existence of tolls, which were collected

B. XVI. Ch. 5.

at these bridges. Fernando Pizarro was everywhere well received with dances and festivals; nor did the Peruvians fail to supply him with what was requisite for his journey, bringing llamas, maize, *chicha* (a kind of intoxicating drink made from maize), and fire-wood. He noticed that account was kept of the delivery of the provisions by removing the knots in the *quippus*, or making them in another place. He confirms the general remark, which has been made before, of the superior civilization of the inhabitants of the Sierras as compared with that of the men in the plains.

Much has been said about Peruvian sacrifices; and it has been decided that they were, occasionally, human sacrifices; it is but just, therefore, to note what Fernando Pizarro says in reference to this subject when speaking of the abodes of those virgins who were dedicated to the worship of the Sun. "Some of these houses are for the worship of the Sun, others for that of Cusco the Ancient, father of Atabaliva; the sacrifice which they make is of llamas, and they prepare *chicha* to pour upon the earth."*

Houses of the Virgin of the Sun.

I cannot but think it will be found that the original worship of the Peruvians, or at least their worship at its best, was devoid of human sacrifices, although in places distant from the centres of civilization, Cusco and Pachacamác,

* "Estas casas son unas para el sacrificio del Sol, otras del Cuzco Viejo, padre de Atabaliva; el sacrificio que hacen es de ovejas, é hacen chicha para verter por el suelo."—Carta de FERN. PIZARRO in QUINTANA, *Apend. á la Vida de F. Pizarro*, p. 183.

and in times long subsequent to those of the first Incas, when their rule may have become less beneficent and more despotic, human sacrifices were made on certain occasions connected with family events in the great families, and perhaps periodically in the remote districts.

B. XVI. Ch. 5.

Peruvian sacrifices.

On Sunday, the 30th of January, after traversing for some miles a country abounding in groves

and populous villages, Fernando Pizarro reached Pachacamác, where he was well received by the inhabitants. It is interesting to read the account given by the first man from the Old World—a man too of great intelligence—who saw the celebrated temple and city of Pachacamác. He found that the Indians did not like to speak of this temple ("*mosque*" he calls it), so deep was their reverence

B. XVI. Ch. 5.

for it; and that the whole of the surrounding territory paid tribute, not to the monarch at Cusco, but to the temple. The town was very large, and contained great buildings; but, as the Veedór mentions, it seemed to be a very ancient town, with much of it in ruins.* This statement is important, as it tends to confirm the story of the ancientness of the religion of Pachacamác. The temple itself was also large, with ample courts and extensive precincts. In a great court outside the temple were the houses of the sacred virgins, who made the same sacrifices as in other places. No man might enter the first court of the temple without having fasted twenty days, and to gain admission to a higher court it was necessary to fast for a whole year. In this court the "bishop" of the temple, in a sitting posture, and with his head covered, received the messengers from the Caciques, when they had completed the year's fast. There were other ministers of the temple who were called "Pages of God." The messengers declared their wants to the Bishop; then these pages of the idol (Fernando Pizarro calls him "the Devil") went into an inner chamber, where they professed to commune with their deity, who sent back word through them, announcing whether he was angry with the Caciques, and what sacrifices they ought to make, and what presents they ought to bring him. Fernando Pizarro was a little beyond his age, and

Temple of Pachacamác.

El Pueblo parece ser antiguo, por los edificios caídos, que en el ai: lo mas de la cerca está caido."—See Report of Miguel Estete, quoted in XEREZ, *Barcia*, tom. 3, p. 209.

was accordingly less credulous. "I believe," he says, "that they do not talk with the Devil, but that those servitors of the priest deceive the Caciques, for I endeavoured to find this out; and, as there was an old servitor, who, a Cacique informed me, had said that the Devil told him that the Caciques should have no fear of our horses, for they only caused terror, and did no harm, I had this servitor tortured, and he remained so firm in his evil creed, that nothing more could be got from him than that he really believed the idol to be a god."

Fernando Pizarro entered the temple, which he found to be very dark and very dirty. In order to free the Caciques from their fears, he bade them come and see him enter the sacred place, and then, "as there was no preacher, I made them my sermon," he says, "telling them of the delusion in which they lived."

Fernando Pizarro enters the temple.

The sermons of conquerors are generally weighty with bold assertion, producing awe and silence, if not conviction. The presence of a Pizarro in the inmost recesses of that sacred fane was of itself the sternest blow to all that was idolatrous in the ancient religion of Peru.

While Fernando Pizarro was at Pachacamác, he heard that Atahuallpa's principal captain was at a town twenty leagues distant, called Xauxa. The name of this Chief was Chilicuchima. Fernando Pizarro put himself into communication with the Peruvian General, and, after much hesitation on his part, succeeded in persuading him to return with him to Cassamarca, which they reached

Fernando Pizarro brings Chilicuchima to Cassamarca.

B. XVI. Ch. 5.

on the 25th of March, 1533. Fernando Pizarro brought back with him twenty-seven loads (*cargas*) of gold and two thousand marks of silver.

The manner of Chilicuchima's approach to the presence of his sovereign excited the general remark of the Spaniards. As the Indian Chief entered the town, he took from one of the Indians of his suite a moderate-sized burden, which he placed upon his shoulders. The rest of the Chiefs did the same; and, laden in this singular manner, they entered the presence of their sovereign. When there, Chilicuchima raised his hands to the sun, and returned thanks to it for having been permitted to see the Inca again. Approaching his sovereign with much tenderness and with tears, he kissed his face, his hands, and his feet. The other Chiefs did the same. But Atahuallpa, much as he regarded his great Captain—and there was no one, we are told, whom he loved more,—did not deign to take any more notice of him than of the meanest Indian in the room. Such was the abject adoration which was paid by the Peruvians to their Incas.

Abjectness of the Peruvian nobles in the Inca's presence.

Fernando Pizarro's mission was not the only one which the Governor had sent out from Cassamarca. He had also, at Atahuallpa's request, it is said, despatched three messengers to Cusco to receive the promised treasure and to bring him a report of the country.* These

* Xerez says that they were to take formal possession of Cusco, and that a public notary accompanied them.

Pizarro sends messengers to Cusco: their conduct.

three men were, I believe, common soldiers, or very little above that rank, and their names were Pedro Moguer, Francisco de Zarate, and Martin Bueno. Borne along in hammocks on the shoulders of subservient Indians, regaled and reverenced almost as deities, these three uncultured men reached the grand city of Cusco, where they behaved with the greatest insolence, avarice, and incontinence. It was a terrible humiliation for that ancient and royal city to endure; and the devout Peruvians might well have wondered that the Sun could bear to look down upon the indignities committed in his sacred city by these rude strangers.* Having been first taken for gods, they soon showed themselves to be a scourge† from the gods. The people of Cusco meditated revenge; but, their fears or their respect for Atahuallpa prevailing, they hastened, by satisfying the demands of these three Spaniards, to get rid of them. The inhabitants of the royal city must have remained shocked and troubled to their inmost souls, and the spell which might have attached this simple people to the Spaniards was broken.

Indeed, we may well pause to consider the sufferings of the inhabitants of Cusco as having something peculiar in them, even for the Indies.

* "Por su poca continencia en todo, i por la indiscreta, i grosera manera de proceder, los Indios conocieron, que estos Hombres no eran Hijos de Dios, i así los aborrecieron, con gran pena, i sentimiento."—HERRERA, *Hist. de las Indias*, dec. 5, lib. 3, cap. 2.

† "Dieron á entender fácilmente á los Indios que, en vez de ser hijos de Dios, eran una nueva plaga que para su daño les enviaba el cielo."—QUINTANA, *Vidas de Esp. celeb.; F. Pizarro*, p. 92.

B. XVI. Ch. 5.

Their city, in their eyes a Paris, a Rome, and a Jerusalem, was fondly, devotedly, adoringly regarded by them. At any *caravanserai*, the traveller who was journeying from Cusco took the precedence—belonging to a superior fortune—of the Peruvian who was only approaching the sacred city; but now Cusco was desolate and cast down, for in a few brief weeks it had suffered the two greatest evils known in the life of cities.

Sufferings of the Cuscans.

It had recently been occupied by a conquering army of its own people, and had experienced all that the bitterest civil discord let loose in a town can inflict upon it. Hardly had this storm swept over the devoted city, when it was to encounter the frigid insolence of alien victors, who knew nothing of its manners, its religion, or its laws. Was it for this that, by incredible labour, the stones had been adjusted in its palaces so as to appear like the cleavage of the natural rock; was it for this that its temple of the Sun towered conspicuous above all other temples;—merely to attract upon it the lightning of destruction from all sides?

For ages the Cuscan had hardly known more than that course of level disaster which belongs to the average life of a prosperous citizen in a well-settled state; nor had he experienced more than that dismay, serene or troubled, according to his temperament, which each man feels in contemplating the failures of his life, and its inevitable decadence. But now came upon every inhabitant of Cusco a turbulent ruin, leaving no time for thought or consolation. Thus it is with

certain fated generations of mankind, on whom descends the deluge of misfortune which seems to have been pent up during a long period of national prosperity.

The fate of the civilized inhabitants in the great cities of the New World surpasses in misery almost anything that the conquered have had to endure in the Old World. The delicate and refined provincial of some flourishing southern city in the Roman Empire, of Narbonne or Toulouse, for example, when swept away in a headlong flood of barbarian Goths or Visigoths, might call to mind how captive Greece had conquered Rome in art and in philosophy, and might feel a confident hope that Roman jurisprudence, Roman discipline, and, above all, that the new religion, which had its seat in Rome, would yet succeed, as it did, in over-awing and subduing the barbarians, making their slaves their teachers. But the Cuscan had no such consolation. His laws, his religion, and his polity fell down with him; his ideas were overcome as well as the man himself; his past life was a delusion, and it led to no future which he could understand, or bear to contemplate. Insanity, or death, seemed the only refuge for him.

Some comfort for the Roman provincial when conquered.

While such indignities were being perpetrated at Cusco, Almagro and his men had arrived at Cassamarca, and now the fruits of an ill-cemented partnership, like that between Pizarro and Almagro, began to show themselves again. Well might Sixtus the Fifth say, as he did

April 14, 1533.

B. XVI. Ch. 5.

once, when addressing the Venetian ambassadors, "He that has partners has masters"—alluding to his difficulties with the conclave of cardinals; and, if the learned and the discreet can hardly manage conjoint action, how much more difficult must it be with rude, unlettered soldiers, like Pizarro and Almagro. Fernando Pizarro, the most distinguished member of the family, could never conceal his contempt and dislike for the uncouth-looking Almagro; and when Almagro arrived at the camp, the common dislike, which had been soothed down at Panamá, broke out again at Cassamarca.

Feud between Almagro and Fernando Pizarro.

Moreover, there was a serious cause, if not for contention, at least for jealousy on the part of the newly-arrived soldiers under Almagro's command, when contemplating the good fortune of the men who had come with Pizarro, amongst whom were to be divided the heaps of gold which were gradually filling the room where the line of measurement was marked for Atahuallpa's ransom. Pizarro, perhaps with some view for the moment of getting rid of his brother, now resolved to melt the gold which had been accumulated, and to send Fernando with the King's fifth to Spain. It amounted to one million three hundred and twenty-six thousand five hundred and thirty-nine *pesos** of pure metal. A record has been kept of the division of the spoil, from which it appears that the horse-soldier received, upon the average, eight thousand *pesos*, and the

The first spoils of Peru.

* A *peso* was equivalent to four shillings and eight-pence farthing.

foot-soldier between three and four thousand. The name of Vicente de Valverde is not in the list, so that at least the vice of avarice cannot be imputed to him. Pizarro made over to Almagro a hundred thousand *pesos* as a compensation for the expenses which had been incurred in their partnership. To Almagro's soldiers twenty thousand *pesos* were awarded, which seems a very small sum indeed, and must have been totally inadequate to satisfy their cravings. The whole sum did not amount to that which was paid to any three of Pizarro's horsemen, and would by no means have compensated for the extravagant increase in prices which this influx of gold caused in the Spanish camp.*

Pizarro's gratuity to Almagro's men.

Rise of prices in the camp.

* The common price for a horse was fifteen hundred *pesos;* a bottle of wine cost seventy *pesos;* a sheet of paper ten *pesos;* a head of garlic half a *peso.*—See XEREZ, p. 233.

The strangest result, however, of this influx of gold was that creditors shunned their debtors, and absolutely hid themselves to avoid being paid.—"É de casa en casa andaban los que debian, con sus indios cargados de oro, á buscar á sus acreedores para pagallos, é aun algunos se escondian por no lo resçebir."—OVIEDO, *Hist. Gen. y Nat. de las Indias.* tom. 4, lib. 46, cap. 13.

CHAPTER VI.

GUASCAR INCA'S FATE—ATAHUALLPA'S TRIAL—ATAHUALLPA'S EXECUTION.

B. XVI. Ch. 6.

WHILE this wholesale spoliation of Peru was going on, it had fared ill with Guascar Inca, the legitimate sovereign of that kingdom. There is a story, unsupported by much evidence, but which appears not improbable, that Pizarro's messengers* to Cusco met those persons who had charge of the fallen Inca, and that he implored the Spaniards to take him under their protection, and to convey him to Pizarro's camp, offering, as might be expected, great largesses. But they, not a whit more politic in this respect than their master, took no heed of his request, and passed

Guascar Inca's fate.

* The names given by ZÁRATE and GOMARA, are Fernando de Soto and Pedro de Barca. The way in which I would reconcile the conflicting accounts about the embassage to Cusco, is, that there were two missions from the camp:—one in which Fernando de Soto and Pedro de Barca were concerned, and which, perhaps, had no definite orders to go to Cusco; and the other consisting of Pedro Moguer, Zarate, and Martin Bueno, which went direct to Cusco. There is a passage in Xerez which favours this view. Immediately after speaking of Fernando Pizarro's departure, he says, "Fifteen days after, there arrived at Cassamarca certain Christians with a great quantity of gold and silver." Who could these Christians have been? The embassage to Cusco, according to the same authority, had not yet been sent out. These Christians, therefore, were probably Fernando de Soto and Pedro de Barca, or messengers from them.

on to Cusco. It is added, that the fact of this interview, being communicated to Atahuallpa, hastened Guascar Inca's death.

It is also said that Atahuallpa, wishing to issue the order for his brother's execution, yet fearing what Pizarro would say and do if such a step were taken, made a trial of the Governor in the following manner. On Pizarro's coming to visit him one day, the Inca assumed a very sorrowful appearance; and, being pressed to declare the cause of his grief, said that Guascar Inca had been put to death by the captains who had charge of him, without his (Atahuallpa's) orders. Upon this, the Governor is said to have soothed him with some commonplace remarks about death being the ordinary lot of mortals, whereupon the Inca, freed from the fear of Pizarro's wrath, hesitated no longer to give orders for his brother's execution.

The truth is, however, that the Scotch form of verdict, "not proven," is all that can be said against Atahuallpa as regards his brother's death. There is no doubt that it was deeply for the interest of Atahuallpa that Guascar should die, as it was of Pizarro to secure his person. In such a despotism, still apparently so blindly obeyed, it is difficult to conceive that Atahuallpa's captains would venture to put their prisoner to death without receiving orders from their master.

On the other hand, it must be remembered that it concerned the interest of these captains as much as that of their master that Guascar Inca

B. XVI. Ch. 6.

Whether Atahuallpa was guilty of his brother's death.

should die. If, out of all these troubled events, Guascar should rise again to power, what might they not apprehend from his vengeance? Then, again,* it must be recollected that Atahuallpa has no friends amongst the chroniclers of those times, for Garcilaso de la Vega, in general the defender of his countrymen, was a descendant of the legitimate branch of the Incarial family, and the cruelties exercised by Atahuallpa's captains towards this branch of the royal house were no doubt a fertile subject of discourse with the old Indian chiefs who were wont to talk to Garcilaso in his boyhood of the events of bygone days. Pizarro's secretary simply states that messengers arrived to say that Guascar was dead. It may also be noticed that in a document, drawn up by a notary, narrating the principal circumstances which took place after Fernando Pizarro left for Spain until the Governor entered Cusco, which was meant for Charles the Fifth's perusal, and which is signed by the Governor, there is no mention of the death of Guascar Inca as part of the charge against Atahuallpa. Leaving Atahuallpa what benefit these considerations may afford him, we must proceed to give an account of his own fate.

Atahuallpa seems to have been well aware that the newly-arrived Spaniards were anything but favourable to him. On taking leave of Fernando Pizarro, the Inca said, "I am sorry that you are going; for when you are gone, I know that that fat man and that one-eyed man will contrive to kill me." The fat man was

Alonzo Riquelme, the King's treasurer; the one-eyed man was Almagro.

Atahuallpa's enemies.

Then, too, it has been stated that the interpreter Felipillo, being in love with one of Atahuallpa's wives or concubines—an affront which it is said the Inca felt more than anything which had occurred to him,—was desirous of compassing Atahuallpa's death. It has been believed by some that Pizarro had from the first intended to put his prisoner to death; but this is probably one of those numerous instances of a practice indulged in by historians of attributing a long-conceived and deliberate policy to their heroes in reference to some event, because the event was all along familiar to the historian's mind, though not at all so to the mind of the hero of the story.

Pizarro's character.

If I read Pizarro's character rightly, he may have been a suspicious man, but he was not a man of deep plans and projects. That he was likely to conceal his plans, when formed, is true; and there is a pleasing little anecdote indicative of his character in that respect, which may be mentioned here. Hearing that one of his soldiers had lost his horse, and was unable, from poverty, to purchase another, Pizarro concealed under his robe a large plate of gold, and going down to play in the tennis-court, where he expected to meet this soldier, but where he did not find him, the Governor played on for hours, with this great weight about him, until he espied the soldier and was able to draw him aside and give him the gold in secret, not without complaining of what

B. XVI. Ch. 6.

he had had to endure in playing tennis with such a burden about him. In addition, moreover, to his natural cautiousness, it appears that Pizarro, in the course of his long warfare with the Indians, had become particularly wary in dealing with them. In short, he was a prudent soldier, but not a dissembling statesman. He may be acquitted of any deep-laid design against Atahuallpa's life. Far from being the first to plot, it is probable that his hostility was quickened or evoked by his fear of being outwitted by the address of the Inca.

The truth is, that Cassamarca, the present scene of action, was in a country where the natives were not friendly to Atahuallpa: many of them, therefore, would be glad to spread injurious reports of the Inca's designs. Moreover, in the present condition of the Peruvian royal family, the Indians throughout the empire must have been in a very disturbed and uncertain state; and their movements, directed perhaps by private impulses, might present an appearance of warlike levies sanctioned by the Inca. Besides, it might naturally be expected that Atahuallpa's adherents, with or without his orders, would assemble together, and march towards the place of their master's imprisonment. Atahuallpa was, therefore, likely to suffer in the estimation of his captors by what was done by his friends, by his enemies, and by any bands of lawless men who were the enemies of the State.

Disturbed state of the Peruvian empire after the Inca's capture.

The natural fears of men so isolated as were Pizarro and his Spaniards at Cassamarca would

aid in bewildering their judgment as to the nature of any movements observed among the surrounding Indians.

Notwithstanding the immense superiority of the Spaniards in arms and accoutrements, it must not be forgotten that they were but a handful of men among the millions whom they had insulted, bereaved, and plundered; and that a dexterous surprise on the part of the Peruvians might easily restore the advantage to the side of numbers. There was, then, good reason for discussing what should be done with Atahuallpa; and the main body of Almagro's men were likely to take the side of the question unfavourable to the captive Inca, from a fear that whatever gold came in might be set down as a part of the ransom, on which Pizarro's men had the first claim, and also from a wish for some new adventure in which they, too, might distinguish and enrich themselves. The arrival, therefore, of Almagro and his men at this particular juncture must be accounted one of those inopportune contingencies with which the history of the conquest of America abounds. It gave occasion for a great difference of feeling upon the pending question of Atahuallpa's death: that question, once discussed, would be sure to become a subject for faction in the small community; and the rage of faction, like that of infectious disease, depends upon the smallness and confinement of the area over which it acts.

The feeling of Almagro's men towards the Inca.

There is one circumstance which seems to have escaped the knowledge, or the observation,

B. XVI. Ch. 6.

of the early chroniclers and historians, who all leave their readers in doubt whether Atahuallpa's ransom was ever fully paid. But in the narrative made for the Emperor, which may be considered as having an official character, and which bears the signature of Pizarro, there is the following passage. "That fusion (of gold) having been made, the Governor executed an Act before a notary, in which he liberated the Cacique Atahuallpa and absolved him from the promise and word, which he had given to the Spaniards who captured him, of the room of gold which he had conceded to them; which Act the Governor caused to be published openly by sound of trumpet in the great square of that city of Cassamarca."* At the same time Pizarro caused the Inca to be informed that, until more Spaniards should arrive to secure the country, it was necessary for the service of the King of Spain that he should still be kept a prisoner. The reasons alleged for this apparent breach of faith were the greatness of Atahuallpa's power, and the fact, which Pizarro asserted he was well aware of, that the Inca had many times ordered his warriors to come and attack the Spaniards. It is difficult to see any motive for the singular proclamation mentioned

Atahuallpa's ransom was paid.

* "Fatta quella fusione, il Governatore fece un atto innanzi al notaro nel quale liberava il Cacique Atabalipa, e l'absolveva della promessa e parola che haveva data a gli Spagnuoli che lo presero della casa d'oro ch'aveva lor concessa, il quale fece publicar publicamente a suon di trombe nella piazza di quella città di Caxamalca."—Pedro Sancho, *Relatione;* Ramusio, tom. 3, p. 399.

above but a very prudent desire, on the part of Pizarro, to remove any cause of dispute between his men and those of Almagro in reference to the Inca's ransom. This proclamation, therefore, was an act in favour of Atahuallpa—that is, so far as the removal of the grounds on which a party is formed tends (which is but little for some time) to dissolve the party. That Pizarro had any personal regard for his captive may be doubted; and the common story of Atahuallpa's discovery that the Spanish Commander could not read, and of his consequent contempt for him, though not perhaps literally true, may yet indicate that the relations between them were not those of particular friendliness.

Things being in this state, a circumstance occurred which Pizarro's secretary mentions, and which he says deserves to be mentioned. An Indian chief, the "Cacique" of Cassamarca (Cassamarca was one of the territories that had been conquered by Atahuallpa) came to the Governor, and by means of the interpreters informed him that Atahuallpa had sent to his own province of Quito, and to all the other provinces, to assemble men of war; that the army, thus formed, was marching under the command of a chief named Llaminabe;* that it was close at hand, and would arrive at night, when an attempt would be made to fire the town. The Cacique

Information given by the Cacique of Cassamarca.

* Ruminavi ("Stony-Countenance"), one of Atahuallpa's greatest captains.

B. XVI. Ch. 6.

added other details. Pizarro expressed his warmest thanks for this intelligence, and ordered a notary to make a report of the matter, and to found an inquiry upon it. In consequence of this, an uncle of Atahuallpa's and several Indian chiefs were arrested and examined; and it was said that their evidence confirmed the evidence of the Cacique of Cassamarca.

The Governor then had an interview with the Inca; and, reproaching him for his treachery, told him what he had discovered. "You mock me," Atahuallpa replied, with a smile; "for you are always saying things of this absurd kind to me. What are we, I and my people? how can we conquer men so brave as you? Do not utter these jests to me." The Inca's smile and untroubled reply created no confidence in the mind of his hearer, for "since the Inca had been a prisoner, he had often replied with such astuteness and composure, that the Spaniards who had heard him were astonished to see so much address in a barbarian."*

Pizarro indignant with the Inca.

Pizarro sent at once for a chain, which he ordered to be put round the Inca's neck—a terrible indignity for the descendant of so many monarchs to endure. The Governor then took a wiser step in despatching two Indian spies in order to ascertain where this army was. They learnt, it is said, that it was advancing by little and little through a mountainous part of the

* See Xerez, p. 234.

country; that Atahuallpa had at first ordered it to retreat; but that he had since countermanded that order, and had now named the very hour and place at which the attack was to be made, saying that he should be put to death if they delayed their arrival. The Governor, upon this intelligence, took all precautions against an immediate attack. The rounds were made with the greatest watchfulness; the soldiers slept in their armour; the horses were kept ready saddled. It appears, also, that a party was sent out, under the command of Fernando de Soto, to reconnoitre; but the crisis of Atahuallpa's fate came on before any intelligence was received from them.

The determining cause of sentence being passed on the Inca.

The camp being in this excited and watchful state, there came to it one Saturday morning at sunrise two Indians, who were in the service of the Spaniards, and who said that they had fled at the approach of an army which was only three leagues from Cassamarca, and that the Spaniards would be attacked that night, or the succeeding one.

Atahuallpa's trial.

Then Pizarro delayed no longer, but resolved to bring Atahuallpa to judgment, although, says the official narrative, it was very displeasing to the Governor to come to that pass. There happened to be a doctor of laws in the Spanish camp, and so the cause was conducted with due formality. The various counts in the indictment are given by Garcilaso de la Vega. Some of them are very absurd, but I should be reluctant on that account to pronounce that they are not genuine.

B. XVI. Ch. 6.

Guascar Inca's death, as might be expected, formed one of the subjects for accusation;* and, amongst other things, it was asked, whether Atahuallpa was not an idolater,—whether he had not prosecuted unjust wars,—whether he did not possess many concubines,—whether he had not made away with the tribute of the empire since the Spaniards had taken possession of it,—whether he had not made over to his relations and his captains many gifts from the royal estate since the arrival of the Spaniards; and, lastly, which was the gist of the matter, whether he had not concerted with his captains to rebel, and to slay the Spaniards? If Felipillo did desire the Inca's death, now was the time when a word, put in or left out, might easily turn the scale. It seems that the prisoner was allowed to have an advocate; but little could be done by him for his client, if the two Indians, as interpreted by Felipillo, spoke decisively to the truth of their story.

The cause having been heard, and condemnation being resolved upon, judgment was pronounced. It was to the following effect:—that Atahuallpa should be put to death, and that the mode of his death should be burning, unless he previously embraced the Christian Faith. These raging missionaries, the Spanish Conquerors, were always eager to put forward that part of their

Atahuallpa's condemnation.

* This statement is not inconsistent with the fact of that part of the charge respecting Guascar Inca's death not being reported to the Emperor, for it may have been successfully rebutted.

mission which consisted in enforcing the outward acceptance of Christianity—a thing which, it must be admitted, they really believed to be of the utmost import.

The last effort for the Inca by his Spanish friends.

On the declaration of the sentence, a contest is said to have arisen amongst the Spaniards, as to whether the sentence should be carried into effect or not. The friends of the Inca contended that the promise which had been given to him by Pizarro should be kept; or, at least that an appeal should be allowed to the Emperor; and they even went so far as to propose that, not the appeal only, but the person of the Inca, should be transmitted to Spain. On the other side, those who were for the sentence being carried into effect, brought forward the ordinary arguments which fear and policy would suggest, threatening their opponents with the charge of treason, and saying that they themselves considered what was good for their King and for their own lives. The number of those who were favourable to Atahuallpa was fifty—of those who sided against him three hundred and fifty. The minority gave way to the arguments, or the menaces, of their opponents, and consented to the execution. The fact that, after the question had been much debated, the majority was with Pizarro seems to militate against the notion that Atahuallpa's death was caused by any deep and forecasting resolve on the part of the Spanish Commander; for, right or wrong, it was a stroke of policy obvious to the common soldiers, and likely, as the result proves, to be adopted by them. If, as is generally sup-

B. XVI. Ch. 6.

posed, Fernando Pizarro was friendly to the Inca, it is probable that that circumstance would have been no light motive with the Governor for not coming to any rash conclusion on the matter. But what Fernando himself thought of the main reason for the Inca's condemnation may be seen by a passage in his letter, before referred to, written in November of that year, and therefore only a short time after the transaction. Speaking of a town, called Bombon, situated on one of the royal roads, he says, "I came up here with a captain of Atahuallpa's who had five thousand Indian warriors with him, which force Atahuallpa was raising under the pretext of conquering a rebel Cacique, and, as it afterwards appeared, they were to make a junction (with other troops) to slay the Christians." It appears, therefore, that Atahuallpa's great friend among the Spaniards, who was not called upon to say anything in the matter, and who mentions it parenthetically, believed in the warlike intentions of the imprisoned Inca.

Fernando Pizarro believed in the accusation against the Inca.

When the sentence was communicated to the Inca, loud were his protestations against the injustice, the tyranny, and the ill-faith of Pizarro; but all these complaints availed him nothing; and he prepared himself for death with that dignity which men who have long held high station and have been accustomed to act before a large audience are wont to show,—as if they said to themselves, "We play a great part in human life, and that part shall suffer no diminution of its dignity in our hands." When brought to the place of

execution, he said that he would be a Christian—the threat of burning being found, as it often has been, a great enlightenment upon difficult points of doctrine. Vicente de Valverde baptized the Inca under the name of Don Juan Atahuallpa, and the new convert was then tied to a stake. Just before his death he recommended to the Governor his little children, whom he desired to have near him, and with these last words, the Spaniards who were surrounding him being good enough to say the "Credo" for his soul, he was suddenly strangled with a cross-bow string. That night his body was left in the great square, and in the morning he was buried with all pomp and honour in the church which the Spaniards had already built, "from which mode of burial," adds the official document, "all the principal Lords and Caciques who served him received much satisfaction, considering the great honour which had been done to him, and knowing that by reason of his having been made a Christian he was not burnt alive, and that he was buried in the church as if he had been a Spaniard."*

Execution of Atahuallpa.

Atahuallpa, at the time of his death, was a man of fine presence, about thirty years of age, tending to corpulence, with a large, handsome, cruel-looking face, and with blood-shot eyes.† His disposition was gay—not that his gaiety

* "Di che tutti i principali Signori e Caciqui che lo servivano riceverono gran satisfattione, considerando il grande honore che se li faceva, e per saper che per essersi fatto Christiano non fu bruciato vivo, e che fu sepelito nella chiesa come se fosse stato Spagnuolo."—PEDRO SANCHO, *Relatione*, RAMUSIO, tom. 3, p. 200.

† XEREZ, p. 14.

B. XVI. Ch. 6.

was manifested with his own people, for dignity forbade that, but in his conversation with the Spaniards. The general impression of his abilities seems to have been favourable, and he was supposed to be an astute, clever man. In short, had the tables been reversed, and Atahuallpa been born in Estremadura instead of in Quito, he would probably have made as crafty, bold, unscrupulous, and cruel a commander as any one of his conquerors; and, I doubt not, would have been equally devout. With his death fell the dynasty of the Incas, though afterwards, as we shall see, there were some mock-suns of Incas set up by the Spaniards, to serve their own purposes.

It is difficult to say whether the execution of Atahuallpa was politic or not. But certainly the whole scheme of Spanish conquest, as exemplified in Peru, was most unwise, if the preservation of the natives and their conversion are to be considered among the principal objects of the conquest, as they certainly were by many good men even at that early period. The conquest always proceeded too fast; and the want of sufficient opposition prevented a sound growth in the new Spanish states. The Spaniards found themselves suddenly masters—in one day masters—of vast tracts of country and populous nations, about whose laws, manners, government, religion, language, and resources they knew almost nothing. This was too difficult a problem for human nature to solve. Accordingly, the Conquerors

Growth, to be complete, needs a certain compression from without.

spread themselves, or, to use a bold metaphor, were spilt, over the country they conquered, like some noxious chemical fluid which destroys all life it touches; and well, indeed, might they have been considered as the plague of an offended deity! No legislation could prevent the evil consequences of a state of things so entirely abhorrent from good government as this was.

The tardy wisdom of mankind.

There are, unfortunately, no more New Worlds to conquer; and human wisdom, which ever lingers on the road, and lives so much in retrospect, that a cynic would say it might almost as well deal with another world as so exclusively concern itself with the past history of this one, was certainly not more rapid or felicitous than usual in applying itself to the difficult circumstances which this newly-discovered continent produced in such abundance. It has been intimated before, and the history of Peru confirms the remark, that a weightier and more sustained endeavour on the part of the Spaniards to conquer and colonize, or mere missions to convert the natives, or simple traffic like the beginnings of the British East India Company, would probably have had a much less unsuccessful issue in civilizing, converting, and maintaining alive the inhabitants of the New World. But it is not for any one generation to comment very severely on its predecessors. The history of the most advanced times presents nearly as much that is ludicrous, disastrous, and ill-considered, as can readily be met with at any previous period of the world.

B. XVI. Ch. 6.

Closing scene of the old glories of Peru.

Thus, with some regrets, and much foreboding, we draw the curtain across the stage on which lies the body of the last great Inca,—to be borne by the Spaniards, with so much self-satisfaction at their own piety, not to any golden-plated temple of the Sun, but to their hastily-raised wooden church in Cassamarca. Meanwhile, in the distance, there rises before the prophetic eye a great picture, in which the lofty roads of Peru, the sumptuous temples, palaces, and gardens are already falling into swift destruction,—henceforward to possess the interest only of ruins, and to be numbered with Babylon, Nineveh, and the things that have been.

Man is the great conservator; man the great destroyer: but the most fatal destruction—the destruction that continues to destroy—is when men stifle the inner life, and slay the spirit, of their fellow-men. The historian of the Decline and Fall of Rome has declared that it was not the barbarians who destroyed the buildings of "the eternal city," but the Roman citizens themselves, whose polity was broken up, who lived in a place too big for them, and who quarried amongst the grand edifices of their forefathers, to provide for their mean, daily purposes. So it is always; and no calamity is to be deeply apprehended for a people, which does not strike a mortal blow at the national life of that people. The direst earthquakes (and no quarter of the globe has suffered more from these appalling disasters than the New

World,) leave but a slight scar behind. The most immense catastrophes of fire and flood, if the nation be but heartily alive, are soon smoothed over, and in a generation are not to be discerned, except by an increase of beauty in the city and of fertility in the fields. The most cruel wars often invigorate: Rome rises only greater from the vital conflicts she endured at the hands of the unrivalled Carthaginian. Nay, even conquest will not efface the essential being of a nation; and many a people, compressed into narrower limits, or absolutely subjugated, by a dominant race, have bided their time, drinking in the secret benefits of great reverses,—have then raised their crests again, and become a world-famous nation.

But the Spanish Conquest, both of Peru and Mexico, was one of those fatal blows to the conquered, of which the shock runs through national and social life, smiting the spinal cord of a people, and leaving them in a death-like paralysis. The men in a nation so subdued are as helpless and bewildered as infants would be who had lost their instinct. All that the nation has accomplished in art, through science, or in architecture, is submissively ceded to the elements; and no man lifts his hand to protect or restore any work of his own or of his forefathers, which he had formerly delighted in. It is not an earthquake which has shaken these miserable men, but a new formation of their world that has overwhelmed them. All the old civilization—the record often of so much toil and blood and sorrow—is crushed for ever into a confused heap of rude materials, the simplest

B. XVII. Ch. 6.

meaning of which it will hereafter require great study to decipher; and the nation, if it survives in name, is but a relic, a warning, and a sign,—like some burnt-out star, drifting along, hideous and purposeless, amidst the full and shining orbs which still remain to adorn and vivify the Universe.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

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